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CONTENTS

I. ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY

1. **Heba Maher** — **1-25**
   ỉꜥ3w in the Ancient Egyptian Civilization
2. **Loay M Abu Alsaud** — **26-44**
   A Roman Fort at Khirbet al-Kilya in the West Bank Highlands of Palestine
3. **Naglaa Fathy Shehab** — **45-79**
   Drunkenness and its Significance According to Ancient Egyptian Texts and Scenes

II. COPTIC & ISLAMIC STUDIES

4. **Lilian Michael Kamel et Al.** — **80-102**
   The Cynocephalus Iconography in Ancient Egyptian and Coptic
5. **Nesma Ibrahim** — **103-114**
   Unpublished Coptic Authorizing Payment Letter in the Coptic Museum
6. **Nourhan Adel Elsayed et Al.** — **115-128**
   An Artistic and Archaeological Study of Metal Lamps during the Alawite Dynasty: the Model of a New Collection Kept at the Church of the Virgin Mary in Haritzuwaila, Cairo (Studied and Published for the First Time)
7. **Salama Hamed Ali** — **129-158**
   Manifestations of the Interest in and Care for Cheetahs in the Age of the Great Mughal Emperors through Paintings (932–1069 AH/ 1526–1707 AD)
8. **Sherin Sadek ʾEL-Gendi** — **159-173**
   Le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair: Histoire, Architecture et Art

9. **Walaa Abd El-Rahman** — **174-196**
The Term «ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ» Mezoteros through the Coptic Documents

III. RESTORATION, HERITAGE & MUSUMS

10. **Ahmed Roshdy El Sakhry** — **197-206**
Exhibition Requirement for Archaeological Sculptures at Egypt's Capitals Museum

11. **Hassan Refaat & Nayira Hassan** — **207-223**
Intellectual Property and its Impact on Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding: A Comparative Study between Hand Weaving in Akhmim (Egypt) and Pochampally (India).

12. **Walid Elghareb** — **224-240**
Temper Characteristics and Damage Diagnosis of some Pre-dynastic Pottery in Tell Hassan Daoud, Ismailia, Egypt: A Case Study.

ꜥ3w IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION

BY

Heba Maher

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **الإعاو في الحضارة المصرية القديمة**

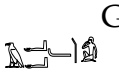
تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقق من لقب *ꜥ3w* باعتباره لقبًا للمترجمين (الترجمين) والمترجمين الفوريين للتعرف على نشأتهم، وممارساتهم المهنية، ومكانتهم بمصر القديمة، باستخدام منهجية البحث النظري فى تاريخ الترجمة الشفهية والتحريرية في مصر القديمة، كما أنها تناولت بالبحث والتدقيق دورهما المتميز في التواصل بين اللغات والثقافات مع دراسة لقب *ꜥ3w*؛ تاريخياً، ولغوياً، وأثرياً. تناولت الدراسة كثير من آراء الباحثين المتعلقة باختلاف القراءة والتفسير لنفس المشاهد من مختلف عصور مصر القديمة. كما أسفرت نتائج الدراسة عن وجود تحولات وتغيرات طرأت على اللقب عبر العصور المصرية القديمة، كذا مهام المهنة، وأنشطة المترجمين، وتمثيلهم من خلال المناظر الزخرفية خاصة؛ في الحياة الإجتماعية والسياسية، مما حقق الإثراء المتبادل بين مصر والثقافات المختلفة، مؤكداً الوعي المصري القديم بأهمية المترجمين في المشهد المصري القديم بأكمله. توصلت الدراسة إلى أن أول ذكر لكلمة إعاو في مصر القديمة كان في عهد ساحورع من الأسرة الخامسة، واستمر ورودها حتى رمسيس الحادي عشر من الأسرة العشرين. وأورد العلماء كثير من التأويلات والقراءات الصوتية للكلمة، بعض منها كان قريبًا من المعنى المقصود، لكن بعضها كان بعيدًا إلى حد كبير. عمل المترجمون والمترجمون الشفهيون على ترجمة المراسلات الرسمية في البلاط الملكي في مصر القديمة، وعملوا على نقل الرسائل من ملوك مصر وقادتها إلى ملوك وقادة مختلف الدول المجاورة. وعملوا على إثراء التعاون في المشهد المصري. كشفت الدراسة على أن النقوش لم تُورد اختلافات تذكر بين المترجمين والمترجمين الفوريين، بالرغم من وجود شواهد على اختلافهما في الأنشطة المهنية، حيث عمل المترجمون الفوريون في المهام والتواصل الخارجي، بينما عمل المترجمون (التحريريون) في مجال المراسلات الدبلوماسية والنصوص الكتابية.

[EN] This paper aims to investigate the title ***ꜥ3w*** as a title of translators/dragomans and interpreters to determine the scope of their emergence, professional practices, and status in ancient Egypt. The methodology applied a theoretical investigation of the history of interpreting and translation in ancient Egypt in terms of the oral and written forms, respectively, and their role in cross-language and cultural communication. It studied the scope of the title ***ꜥ3w***, historically, linguistically, and archaeologically. The study reviewed the opinions of many researchers and writers in Egyptology in terms of the different reading and interpretations of the same scenes from different periods in ancient Egypt. The findings showed transitions and changes in the title, the professional tasks, and the activities of interpreters and translators through ancient Egyptian history. The representation of translators/dragomans and interpreters was essential in social and political life to achieve mutual rich communication between Egypt and different cultures. The word ***ꜥ3w*** was first documented under the reign of Sahure (ca. 2487-2473 BC) (the 5th dynasty), and lasted until the reign of Ramesses XI (1113-1085 BC) (the 20th dynasty). Many phonetic pronunciations and translations of the title were attempted; some came close to their intended meaning, while others were not. This profession reflected the ancient Egyptian awareness of the significance of translators and interpreters in ancient Egypt. Finally, there were no differences between interpreter and translator in reliefs, but there is proof that there was a distinction between the professional activities of interpreter and translator, i.e., interpreting served external contacts, while translation was carried out in the area of diplomatic correspondence and contractual texts.

KEYWORDS: *ꜥ3w, Imy -r3 ꜥ3w,* dragoman, Herminos, interpreter, linguistic duplication, translator.

I. INTRODUCTION

The acknowledgment of interpreters and translators as members of ancient Egyptian society is noted in the second book of the Greek historian Herodotus (5th century BC)[1], who states: «There were seven different castes[2]: Priests, soldiers, cow shepherds, swine herders, minor traders, dragomans/interpreters[3], and helmsmen.» This assumption was supported when scholars discovered the distinct language unit (*ỉʿ3w*) in Old Kingdom texts[4], translated as interpreter, **dolmetscher**, and dragoman[5]. Gardiner proposed this after prior unsuccessful attempts by other researchers[6].

Gardiner demonstrated the connection of this word with the late Egyptian  , preparing the way for understanding it as a professional title[7], particularly its compound unit *ỉmy-rȝ ỉʿ3w*, which had a direct reference to foreign expeditions[8]. It was found in distant areas, e.g., Sayaleh and Tomas in lower Nubia[9] and Sinai[10].

The word *hermeneutics* was derived from the Greek verb **ερμηνευω** (hermeneuein) (interpret) and the name **ερμηνεία** (herminos) (interpretation)[11]. Both came from the word **Ερμινός** (herminos) (translator or interpreter)[12], with an etymological connection to the deity Hermes, who was characterized as the inventor of writing, speech, and interpreter of meanings, symbols, and divine messages[13]. All of these were attributes transmitted from the deity Thoth[14], who represented a unique phenomenon in foreign linguistic communication after death. Thoth held the title *ỉʿ3w tȝwy* (the translator of the two lands or the translator of Egypt), (chapter N°.125 of the Book of the Dead in its Demotic Version)[15]. This title denotes his role as the interpreter between the foreign tongues and facilitating communications among them. Additionally, his main role was the judge who defended the foreign dead in the Hall of Justice before Osiris decided their afterlife[16].

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[1] KHAFAGA & BADAWI 1966: 297, N°.2; SHOAIB 2021: 191.

[2] Many papyri discussed the ancient Egyptian castes. Early Egyptologists disagreed on their number, considering it between three, six, or seven. While modern Egyptologists divided them into three groups: the upper caste, the middle caste, and the lower caste; the last one included the translators. KHAFAGA, 1966: 297, N°.2; RAMADAN 2004: 431-442.

[3] Herodotus mentioned that the translators' class included pure Egyptian translators, Egyptianized translators, and others from foreign countries (Greek and Phoenician). This is evidenced by the presence of non-Egyptian names. This class's livelihood was contingent on Egypt's conditions, neighboring countries, and tourism. KHAFAGA & BADAWI 1966: 297-298, N°.2; SHOAIB 2021: 191-192.

[4] LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

[5] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 159, 8-10.

[6] GARDINER 1915: 117-125.

[7] GOEDICKE 1960: 61.

[8] For their expeditions towards the south, see: GOEDICKE 1960: 62-63; ROY 2011: 245-284.

[9] WEIGALL 1907: PLS.50, 58.

[10] GARDINER 1915: 125; SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 113.

[11] MOSTAFA 2003: 15; SHOAIB 2012: 196.

[12] SHOAIB 2021: 196.

[13] MOSTAFA 2003: 15-19.

[14] GARDINER 1917: 134; SHOAIB 2021: 196-197.

[15] SIMPSON 2003: 276.

[16] SHOAIB 2021: 196.

II. Factual Evidence of Translator and Interpreter Presence

There is vital evidence of how much Egyptians were seeking help from their interpreters in their disciplinary and commercial campaigns, which might have started with Djer[17] and Den[18], during the first dynasty. This significance of reciprocal translation arose in ancient Egypt because of the expansion of the communication network with its neighbors in Nubia, the Levant, Mesopotamia, Punt, and the Aegean Islands (*ḫ3w nbw*)[19]:

The oldest evidence comes from the Palermo Stone, which recorded an agreement to bring (in tribute) 7,000 male and female live captives and 40 ships filled with cedar wood to Egypt during the twelfth year of Sneferu's reign (2613-2494 BC)[20]. The names of those captives of Sneferu's invasion in Nubia (the ancestors of those Egyptianized Nubians settled in Dahshur) were «*Iʿ3ww*» «babblers»[21]. It stands to reason that they have an original relationship with the title «*Iʿ3w*» of translator/interpreter. This became clearer with their descendants, who were incorporated into the Egyptian army battalions, served under the Egyptian leaders, and accompanied expeditions to places as far away as Sinai and Iam[22], Byblos[23], and Punt as interpreters[24].

- The Palermo Stone also mentioned the first known expedition to Punt, which took place during King Sahura's reign, during the 5th dynasty. A pygmy from Punt was described in a biography as having arrived at King Djedkara-Isesi's court during the 5th dynasty[25].
- The records from the Aswan tombs mentioned certain expeditions to Punt. One of the Aswan nobles, Khnumhotep, boasted about his eleventh trading mission with two of his chiefs to the Phoenician coast and Punt[26].

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[17] The name of King Djer, the second king of the dynasty, was carved on the rocks of Sheikh Suleiman Mountain near Wadi Halfa. It could refer to the trade exchange between Egypt and Nubia or beyond Nubia. It could also describe his military campaign to protect the mining expeditions in the gold mines of Wadi Halfa. His name also appeared in the gold artifacts in his tomb in Saqqara and Abydos. RAMADAN 2002: 19.

[18] The several-year labels from the reign of Den (including the famous ivory label in the British Museum, allude to military campaigns (whether real or symbolic) against the Asian inhabitants of the Near East. PETRIE 1900: PL.XI [4 & 14-15], PL.XV [16- 18]; SPENCER 1993: 87, FIG.67; WILKINSON 1999: FIG.5[1]; WILKINSON 2000: 106.

[19] It is the Egyptian name for the inhabitants of the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. SALEH 2012: 268.

[20] For the text, see: WILKINSON 2000: 141.

[21] BELL 1976: 91; REDFORD 2004: 20.

[22] GILBERT 2008: 85; VITTMANN 2008: 97-98; SHOAIB 2021: 171-172.

[23] There was a mention of a large Egyptian colony in the port of Jubail (Phoenician Byblos) on the northern Syrian coast. GILBERT 2008: 85; VITTMANN 2008: 97-98; SHOAIB 2021: 171-172.

[24] Egypt's southern boundaries had a particular connection to the princes of Elephantine, but they also discovered other sites in upper Egypt, which were always accessible to Nubia along overland desert routes due to their proximity. During the first intermediate period (about 2160-2060 BC), they were discovered to have settled in Mo'alla and Dendera, and apparently in Aswan and Thebes. The majority of those Nubians were part of the New Kingdom's Viceroy of Kush Panehesy, after which they were still serving in the Egyptian army. BELL 1976: 91.

[25] GILBERT 2008: 77; SHOAIB 2021: 170, 172.

[26] SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 140-141; GILBERT 2008: 77; SHOAIB 2021: 170.

- A script from King Neferirka-Re's reign (5th dynasty) assumed that interpreters were probably part of the Egyptian expeditions overseas because they were named alongside sailors and other members[27].
- The migrations of «*ḥryw šꜥ.sn*»[28] which threatened the trade routes between Egypt and its neighbors[29], caused unrest on Egypt's northeastern borders during the reign of King Pepi I of the Sixth dynasty[30], which necessitated that the king must assign the army commander «Weni[31]» to protect Egypt and its borders through five successful campaigns[32] (four by land, and the fifth by land and sea)[33]. Weni's title demonstrates that there were translators in the army, holding the title *Ỉmy-rꜥ ỉꜥ3w* (overseer of translators)[34].
- The reliefs of Queen Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt (c.1460 BC), which were found in her funerary temple in Deir El-Bahri, depicted eight seafaring ships arriving at Punt, loading cargo, and departing Punt for their return journey on the Red Sea[35].

Also, there were two exceptional cases from the Middle Kingdom:

- One official boasted in his stela (CG20765), preserved in the Egyptian Museum, with his title , that he is «*wḥꜥ mdwt ḫ3swt nbt*» «translator of the languages of all foreign countries»[36].

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[27] HERMANN 2002: 16; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

[28] They were specified as *ḥryw šꜥ*. The latter is generally rendered «those-upon-the-sand», i.e., «sand-dwellers» and regarded as a term for desert nomads. It is mentioned in Wen's report. SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 101-105; GOEDICKE 1963: 188-191.

Another point of view considered them as a branch of the Amorite migrations that spread on the borders of the Fertile Crescent. SHOAIB 2021: 165.

In my view, both of them could be right, as they might be a branch of the Amorite migrations who settled and worked later in agriculture.

[29] Although the natural borders in ancient Egypt provided security and safety for the Egyptians and preserved their linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identity, the ancient Egyptians did not hesitate to perform their sacred duty to defend it in front of the Bedouin migration that never ceased throughout its ancient history. SHOAIB 2021: 165

[30] LECLANT 1994: 283-284; GOURDON 2009: 41-48.

[31] LICHTHEIM 1973: 18-23; WISSA 2011: 223-227; COLLOMBERT 2015: 145-147.

[32] Weni described the destruction which he inflicted upon the land of *ḥryw šꜥ* (*t*, *ḥryw-šꜥ*). He spoke about destroying the walled settlements (*wnwt*), cutting down fig-trees and grape-wines, and throwing fire into the abodes of the deities (*pr-nṯr*). SETHE 1933: vol.1, 101-105; GOEDICKE 1963: 188-191.

[33] A photograph of the inscription is available in MASPERO 1890-1900: 27-28; BORCHARDT 1937: 115-117, PLS.29030, sub.№.1435; translations of the text are available in ERMAN 1882: 1-3; BREASTED 1906: 306-315; STRACMANS 1953: 509-511. While a monograph on the inscription was offered by TRESSON 1919; GOEDICKE 1963: 187–197.

[34]The word thitherto is wrongly read . ERMAN 1882: 14; GARDINER 1915: 117; SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 102[5].

[35] GILBERT 2008: 34.

[36] This rare term represents a deliberate act to prove his ingenuity and sophistication in mastering foreign languages. The first syllable *wḥꜥ* includes all these meanings. LANGE & SCHAFER 1908: 389; SHOAIB 2021: 177.

- An Egyptian mentioned that he held the two pens of «*ḥ3w nbw*», reflecting the commercial links between Egypt and the Aegean islands[37]. This may indicate the presence of Egyptian translators in the royal court to read Aegean messages. There were Aegean commercial communities in the Egyptian capitals, the ports in the Levant, that related to Aegeans and the contact of Egyptian employees with them[38].

Other vital points were included in the diplomatic marriage[39], the diplomatic relations, the treaties[40], and the correspondences[41]:

- The phenomenon of linguistic duplication is seen in the Tell El-Amarna Letters[42]. In one of the Mitanni letters sent to Akhenaten, King Tushratta praised the messenger Mani and the translator Khani because of their distinguished performance in a diplomatic mission to his country; he lavished gifts on them[43].
- The Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty, which dates to the reign of Pharaoh Ramses II around 1280 BC, is a good example. It was written in Akkadian at first, translated into Egyptian, changed by Ramses, and then translated back into Akkadian and delivered to the Hittite king. This document is considered by experts to be one of the most holistic examples of a translation text in international law[44]. During the third intermediate period and the late period, these political alliances reflected political conditions in the ancient Near East and the importance of translation[45].

[37] The phrase «Qalami Haunbo» refers to remembering the existence of two phases of the Aegean lines, although it seems that the appearance of the second phase was late in the Middle Kingdom. PETRIE 1889-90: 9-10; PETRIE 1890: 42-43; SALEH 2012: 268; SHOAIB 2021: 177-179.

[38] SALEH 2012: 268; SHOAIB 2021: 177.

[39] GIKVEON 1969: 54-59; SCHULMAN 1979: 177-193.

[40] BREASTED 1906: 163–174.

[41] For the question of the use of a foreign language for diplomatic correspondence, see: CZERMAK 1948: 1-13.

[42] The majority of those 382 tablets discovered in the place of the Tsars' Letters, a structure that served as an official «archive» in the middle of the city, could be dated to a period of fifteen to thirty years, beginning around the thirty-first year of Amenhotep III's rule (1390–1352 BC) and ending no later than the first year of Tutankhamun's rule (1336-1327 BC). The majority of the letters were written in Akkadian, which was the dominant tongue at the time. Yet, Assyrian, Hittite, and Hurrian (Mitanni) languages were present. CAMPBELL 1964; MYNÁŘOVÁ 2007; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 291-292.

[43] CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 85.

[44] LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 291.

[45] The most renowned was the alliance of Egypt with Syria and Palestine against the Assyrian threat after the campaign of Shashanq I to Palestine during the reign of Osorkon II. The second phase of this conflict was completed during the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties. VITTMANN 2000: 97.

- The spread of the monotheistic chant of Akhenaten[46], which was written prior to the middle of the 14th century BC, was translated several times in different eras into some Semitic dialects, such as Phoenician or Aramaic, as well as Hebrew[47].
- The Egyptian royal envoy abroad and Egypt's ambassadors[48], such as Sinhue[49], Horemheb[50], Tutu[51], Wenamun[52], Netjeruimes[53], the royal Huy, Egyptian physicians, translators, and other specialists employed at the Hittite court[54].
- Adopting the policy of deploying military garrisons to assist the Egyptian deputies of the royal court during the New Kingdom and the policy of raising the sons of the subordinate rulers with the princes in the royal palaces during Thutmose III's reign helped them learn the Egyptian language and culture[55]. Thus, they served as ambassadors of the Egyptian language and culture when they ascended their fathers' thrones[56].

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[46] BODZIONY-SZWEDA 2009: 141-151; HOFFMEIER 2015.

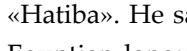
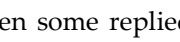
[47] SHOAIB 2021: 181.

[48] LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

[49] Sinuhe, the protagonist of a story who fled Egypt and had a successful career in the Levant before returning to Egypt in his old age, was the prototype of an Egyptian royal envoy abroad in the Middle Kingdom. At the same time, he established a literary model for living abroad within a well-traveled and culturally appropriated border. CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 12.

[50] Horemheb was a vizier of authority at the court of three kings, further a king himself (1333–1306 BC), and Tutu were the senior officials at Amarna who held the position of the official royal speakers to manage political matters and implement royal decrees inside and outside the country, including receiving messengers, ambassadors, and foreign envoys, adjudicating their affairs before presenting in front of the king, or giving permission to their owners to see the king. SHOAIB 2021: 190.

[51] It was evidenced by what Tutu said on the walls of his tomb, «chief mouthpiece of all the foreign lands». In another relief, he said: «I was the supreme mouthpiece in the entire land, in expeditions, works, and crafts, and [of] all persons living and dead; as to the ambassadors of all the foreign lands, I announced their words to the palace; I was being every day. I came out to them as the messenger of the King, possessed of every rule of [His] Majesty». These titles certainly indicated that he was this tutu whom the kings of Syria acknowledged in their letters as the true authority behind the throne in their affairs. It also suggests that Tutu was a man of years and position before Akhenaten ascended to the throne and that the young King, whose concerns were focused on Egypt, gladly counted on his father's confidant's diplomatic acumen. DAVIES 1908: 14-15, 27, PL.19.

[52] Wenamun's conversation with the princes and officials in the Levant during his trip was evidence of the prevalence of his Egyptian language there, in addition to his conversation with the Cypriot Queen «Hatiba». He said  *sḏmy mdt kmt*, which means: Is there anyone who understands the Egyptian language? when some replied to him with:  *ḏd. ṯw.i sḏmy* «Well, I understand». GARDINER 1932: 75; GALÁN 2005: 153; SHOAIB 2021: 184.

[53] Netjeruimes was responsible for bringing the actual silver tablet with the Hittite Egyptian peace treaty to Egypt. CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 12.

[54] Who went up to Hatti and brought her princess. CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 12.9.

[55] This policy had two other aspects; they were essentially hostages that could be exploited against any revolution or rebellion carried out by their parents, as well as providing the opportunity to see the features of the Egyptian power that diminished their local strength and deepened this feeling among them. SHOAIB 2021: 179.

[56] HOFFMEIER 2004: 125-126; PANAGIOTOPOULOS 2006: 399-400; SHOAIB 2021: 178-179.

- There was a training for interpreters/ translators during Ramses II's reign (1304–1237 BC), as Herodotus pointed out to young men from Asian communities who taught Egyptian in Fayoum.[57]
- During Psamtik I's reign (663–610 BC), young Egyptian boys were sent to learn a foreign language by Hellenic settlers at the Delta. Thus, he formed a group of translators[58], whose core was Egyptian boys[59], to facilitate dealing with the Greeks and the Egyptians in the army[60], court administration[61], and trade[62]. Thus, Psamtik I's successors adopted the same policy, where they formed foreign military teams supervised by Egyptian leaders, who were called «speakers of a foreign language». This could be evidenced by the Greek, Carian, and Phoenician rock graffiti left by these mercenary soldiers, who participated in Psamtik II's campaign in Nubia[63]. There were many bilingual and multilingual texts in the Late Period[64].

III. THE FORMS OF *ỉr3w*

The first written record of the verbalized term for interpreting was the the title (*Imy-rˁ ỉr3w*), which appeared in connection with the rock tombs discovered on Qubbet el-Hawa (a hill near Aswan) by Sir F.W. Grenfeli[65]. Scholars considered these writings to be the oldest surviving literal mention of interpreters/translators for the

[57] LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

[58] KHAFAGA 1966: 286; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

[59] According to Herodotus, these boys were taught by the mercenary soldiers (Lonian and Karian soldiers) after being given lands next to Tell Basta on the Pelusian branch of the Nile to live in as a fulfillment of them because they helped him. Then, Amasis transferred them to Memphis to be his private guards. KHAFAGA 1966: 286; SHOAIB 2021: 191.

[60] This is self-evident because of his use of Greek mercenaries in the Egyptian army, in the guards, and in the border garrisons. There was an also an influx of Greek merchants who worked for themselves in Egypt and as commercial mediators between Egypt and their country. HASSAN, 1957: 36-37; SALEH 2012: 436-437; SHOAIB 2021: 190.

[61] Sicilian Diodorus said: Psamtik I raised his children in as a Greek. Thus, some believed that they had learned the Greek language. But, the authenticity of the story is unknown. Further, it is believed that Psamtik I had a consultant and translator named Bigris (the same name of the translator of the Persian Achaemenid ruler of Minor Asia, Cyrus the Younger). SHOAIB 2021: 190-191.

[62] It differed from the policy of Psamtik I to the policy of Ramesses III, who also relied on mercenary soldiers (Nubians, Libyans, Asians, Aegeans, and Hittites) in the army units. However, Ramesses III did not underestimate the Egyptian language and entrusted these foreigners with teaching the Egyptians their languages to raise a generation of Egyptian translators, as Psamtik I did. But he worked on Egyptianizing them linguistically and culturally, as evidenced by what was mentioned in Habu's texts: «He seized the countries of Tameho, Lipo, and Mashwash, made them cross the river to Egypt, they heard the language of the people (the Egyptians), to be in the service of the king, and abolished their language and replaced their tongues (their languages)». SHOAIB 2021: 192-193.

[63] Greek, Carian, and Phoenician armies in Psamtik II's Nubian Campaign in 593 BC carved on seated statues of Rameses II in Abu Simbel Temple. VITTMANN 2008: 100-101; SCHMITZ 2010: 321-337.

[64] Such as a votive statue from the Serapeum in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. There is a bilingual inscription of a bronze statue of the Neith Temple (the reign of Psamtik I), and a bilingual inscription (Egyptian and Phoenician languages) of a statue from the twenty-sixth dynasty in the Louvre Museum in Paris. YOYOTTE 1956: 43, 53 PLS. 6, 7; SHOAIB 2021: PLS.22-23.

[65] GARDINER 1915: 117; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

Elephantine princes[66]. Those local princes were charged with facilitating and promoting trade during the 5th and 6th dynasties[67]. Their title (***ỉmy-rʿ ỉʿ3w***) was recognized by M. Schiaparelli to be identical to the title occurring in Weni's inscription[68].

- **In the Old Kingdom**

The most prevalent form was , attested early in the 5th dynasty[69]. It could be having a determinative [70], where the plural form [71] was implied in the inscriptions from Sabni's tomb[72]. Additionally, it appeared one time as a graffito dated to the first Jubilee of Pepi I (year 37) in Wadi El-Hammat[73], and once as in an inscription from the mastaba of ***ʿnḫi:inty*** at Saqqara (Late dynasty VI)[74]. It appeared twice in this form [75] on the stela of ***ỉw.t(i)*** from Nagada (6th dynasty)[76], and in stela Nº.1435[77], equaled with the inscription of Weni[78] (Overseers of Dragomans)[79].

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[66] LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

[67] VISCHAK 2015: 99 FIG.33.

[68] GARDINER 1915: 117. Likewise, the situation in the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor (Middle Kingdom) involved the return of a trading, exploration, or military mission from the south (Phoenician coast). SIMPSON 2003: 45-53.

[69] SETHE 1913: PL.3; SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 121.10; 123.10, 15; 125.10; 131.15; 135.16; REISNER 1942: FIGS.257-258, 263 (438 & foll): G 2150(= the mastaba of *K3.i nfrw*); For the date, see: JUNKER 1944: 162; GOEDICKE 1960: 61, Nº.6; BELL 1976: 1, Nº.7; PORTER & MOSS: *PM* 1981: PART.3, 77 PT.1.

[70] SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 132.5, 9.

[71] SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 137.5.

[72] SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 137.5.

The actual arrangement of the text was based on a split-column writing. BELL 1976: 171, Nº.857; Although Goedicke emphasized that at the end of the passage was to be understood as a determinative for the preceding words , , in accordance with the practice of abbreviation by avoiding the repetition of the same determinative known from other Old Kingdom inscriptions (For this practice, see GUNN 1933: 106), he incorrectly considered that was (ʿ) referring to a group or class of people. He added that it was improbable to mean 'interpreter', as the mention of the ( ) between ( ) and ( ) indicated that those people, called (ʿ), occupied a position that set them in some relation both to the Egyptians and to the Nubians. GOEDICKE 1960: 61.

[73] GOYON 1957: 55-56, Nº.21; BELL 1976: 2.

[74] According to Bell, who saw a hand-copy of the inscription, the correct reading of the relevant passage did not indicate it was in the published copy. It should be . BELL 1976: 2, 95 N°.15.

[75] The hieroglyph sometimes otherwise occurred in the word "Interpreter." It appeared from Weni's text and the stela of *ỉw.t(i)* that the writing without was not exclusively confined to the Middle Kingdom. GARDINER 1915: 124. However, such instances were extremely rare. The earliest example was on an ivory plaque from the Thinite period, which, like all such objects, served as a label for a box or parcel. Placed apart from the inscription, which was written in smaller characters, the sign was accompanied only by a line, which showed that it was an ideogram, or rather a pictogram, used to indicate the contents of the packet, i.e., a garment. In this instance, the sign was so clearly drawn that there could be no doubt as to what it was intended to represent. It showed a rectangular object, its width greater than its height, surmounted by a series of small oblique lines that represented a fringe or braid; on the sides are two cords, each terminating in a ring. JÉQUIER 1915: 250.

[76] BORCHARDT 1964: 1638; BELL 1976: 2.

[77] BORCHARDT 1937: 117.

[78] SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 102 L.5.

[79] Although Gardiner observed that the title ***ỉmy-r3 ỉʿ3w*** became rare after dynasty VI. The prince Sirenpowet of Aswan preserved it. GARDINER 1915: 124-125; BELL 1976: 84.

- **In the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom:**

Apparently, *ỉꜥ3w* and *ỉmy-r3 ỉꜥ3w* could still be found throughout the Middle Kingdom in Buhen[80], Medik[81], Wadi el-Hudi[82], Qubbet el-Hawa[83], Wadi Hammamat[84], Wadi Beiza[85], Bir Menih[86], and Sinai (Rod el-Air)[87]. Furthermore, the title *ỉmy-r3 iꜥ3w ꜥnḫw*[88] (of Rod el-Air) was associated with his four sons *Mrrw*, *Sḥtp-ib-Rꜥ(w)*, *Ḫnt(y)-ḫty-ḥtp(w)*, *ꜥnd s(i)-n(y)-wsrt*, every one of them with the title *iꜥ3w*[89]. The title *iꜥ3w* was held by at least fifteen other Egyptians in Magharah and Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai[90].

There was in spell 64 of the coffin texts (on a coffin from the 10th dynasty?[91]. The form came from stela (CGC20026), from Abydos dating to Sesostris I[92]. Also, there were writings with in «the dragoman *ỉw.f -r-snb*» in stela (CGC20035)[93] and in Khartoom Museum stela (11778)[94].

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[80] VERCOUTTER 1957: 61, FIG.1, 64 PL.12a=Stele Khartoum 11778; FISCHER 1961: 79, N°.88.

[81] WEIGALL 1977: 50, Nr. 6-8.

[82] FAKHRY 1952: Nos.1, 3-4, 4a, 26, 53, 66; BELL 1976: 85.

[83] SETHE: 1935: vol.7, 6.3; EDEL 1971: ABBS.8, 11; BELL 1976: 198, N°.1145.

[84] GOYON 1957: N°.87; BELL 1976: 86.

[85] ČERNÝ 1947: 56, **N°.** 43, FIG.4.

[86] On the other hand, the name *iꜥ3w*, borne by a *ḥr(y)-ꜥ*,«assistant», probably did not mean «interpreter, but something like» Babbler. This could be be a nickname related to his speech style rather than his occupation. There was no evidence that this man was an «Egyptianized Nubian». GREEN 1909: 252, N°.4, 253, №.21; ERMAN& GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 159; BELL 1976: 85-86, 200, N°.1172.

[87] ČERNÝ 1955: 219-220, N°.511, PL.XCIV, FIG.31.

[88] It showed a man standing, with a staff and sekhem-scepter in his hands, facing right. In front of him: 1- Those who love their god and return (home) in peace are those who shall say, 2- A thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of all things on which a god lives to the overseer of interpreters, 3- Ankhu and to the interpreter Mereru, true of voice, possessing honor.'Below, four men are represented with their names in a vertical column in front of each, 4- his son, interpreter Mereru, possessing honor, 5- his son, interpreter Sehetepibre, possessing honor, 6- his son, interpreter Khentekhtayhotep, possessing honor, 7- his son, interpreter Senwosret, possessing honor'. ČERNÝ 1955: 219-220, N°.511.

[89] Neither their names nor depictions implied that these people were anything other than Egyptian. Thus, «the father's title was unlikely to indicate 'overseer of the foreigners' but 'overseer of interpreters' who were, in this case, his sons who joined him on this mission. BELL 1976: 85.

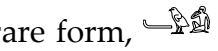
[90]The introduction of Asians into the work gangs necessitated the presence of Egyptian «interpreters» there as well. The other evidence regarding Asians employed by the Egyptians in Sinai at the time clearly supported this, at least in the majority of cases. The appearance here of a high official from *Rṯnw* was a matter of some significance. He was represented respectfully, either in Egyptian attire or on a donkey with two retainers, and he was invariably associated with interpreters in the lists of the men that made up these expeditions. POSENER 1957: 145-163; BELL 1976: 85-86.

[91] Bell said: «This example very kindly called to my attention by Mr. Edward Brovarski, who showed me a hand-copy of the inscription made by Prof./ Charles F. Nims during his working in the nearby mastaba of Mereruka with the Oriental Institute's Saqqara Expedition». BELL 1976: 95, N°.15.

[92] LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 34, N°.20026.

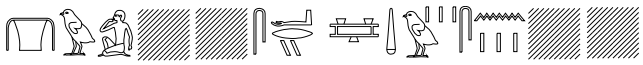
[93] It gave his title as *šmsw iꜥ3w* or simply *iꜥ3w*; LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 43 Nº. 20035; GARDINER 1915: 123.

[94] VERCOUTTER 1957: 61, FIG.1, 64, PL.12a=Stele Khartoum 11778. Fischer provided many points to indicate that the last stela belonged to the 13th dynasty rather than the 12th dynasty. FISCHER 1961: 79, N°.88.

Furthermore, a rare form,  , appeared in the Boulaq Papyrus 18 (dating to Sobekhotep of the 13 dynasty)[95].

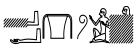
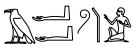
- **In the New Kingdom**

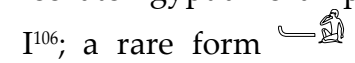
The form which appeared in the stela of ***ỉw.f-r-snb*** (CGC20035) in the Middle Kingdom appeared twice in the New Kigndom tomb inscriptions. Sennefri[96]was described in his tomb (TT. 99) with the following:

 [97]

ỉʿ3w [n(y) ḫ3swt nb(w)t] s(i)ʿry mdw(w)w.sn [n n(y)-swt][98]

«Interpreter of all foreign lands[99], who forwards their pleas (lit.: words) to the king.»

Also, Anhermose spoke of himself in his tomb in Naga El-Mashayikh (relating his career as a military scribe) as ***ỉʿ3w n(y) ḫ3stnb(t) m-b3ḥ nb(w).i***, «interpreter of every foreign land in the presence of my lord»[100]. The form showed up in the Amduat, concluding the spelling text of the third hour (dates to the reign of Thutmose III)[101]. The form [102] was part of an inscription from inside the tomb of the High Priest Nebwenenef in Thebes (Nº.157, early Ramesses II)[103]. Further,  was found in the nearby tomb of the third Prophet, Tjanefer (Nº.158)[104]. Additionally, the formula  dates back to the reign of Merneptah[105].

There were just three late Egyptian examples of in a literary context; in the Papyrus Anastasi I[106]; a rare form  was in the Taxation Papyrus (Turin

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[95] SCHARFF 1922: PL.13**(foll 152), 44[8], 45[17]; BELL 1976: 2.

[96] He was Chancellor at the Theban Court in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and his biographical inscription talked about a voyage that he made to Lebanon to fetch timber. A record of him was also found in Sinai. Thus, his pretensions to be a traveler were completely vindicated. SETHE 1909: vol. 4, 533-544; GARDINER 1917: 133; GARDINER & PEET 1917: 194.

[97] GARDINER 1917: 133; The title copied incorrectly in SETHE 1909: *Urk,* vol. 4, 540 as .

[98] BELL 1976: 86.

[99] For this restoration, see: GARDINER 1917: 133-134; BELL 1976: 86; Suggested restoring the «Interpreter [of the princes of Rethenu], reporting their words [to the Palace]» noting that Sennefri went «to Lebanon to fetch timber» and also to Sinai. ČERNÝ 1952: Nº.194.

[100] The semantically equivalent *mdw(w)r nfr m-b3ḥnb(w).f wḥʿmdw(w)ḫ3swt nb(w)*«one who speaks well in the presence of his lord and interprets the words of all foreign lands». BELL 1976: 86-87, 200, Nº.1174.

[101] ERIK 1963: 62, 75[5]; BELL 1976: 2.

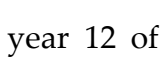
[102] According to Bell, «it was an unpublished preliminary hand-copy made by Miss Cathleen Keller in 1970 for the Dir Abu El-Naga project of the Egyptian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia», 96, Nº.20.

[103] BELL 1976: 2.

[104] SEELE 1959: PL.17.

[105] SPIEGELBERG 1893: 41.

[106] SPIEGELBERG 1893: 42;GARDINER 1915: 120.

1896+2006) [107], dated to year 12 of Ramesses XI,;  was in Papyrus (BM 10326), dated no earlier than year 28 of Ramesses XI[108]; in Papyrus (BM 10052, 6.2, 7. 13, 10. 18, 11.4)[109], dated to year I of the Renaissance(=year of 19 Ramesses XI). Finally, is found in Papyrus Bournemouth[110].

IV. THE FORM EXAMINATION

The word was studied for a long time (Gardiner's study[111], Weill's study[112], and Jéquier's studies)[113]. Also, the philological studies by Goedicke[114]and Fischer[115] rekindled the worldwide debate, but with no results. The last re-examination of the word was carried out by Bell in 1976[116].

- **The Significance of the Sign (S 25):**

The hieroglyphic sign's shape changed significantly between texts, even during the Old Kingdom[117]. The main part of this hieroglyph form depicted an approximately rectangular space with an extension of the base, the shape of which was not straight but somewhat curved outwards.

On the other hand, other versions depicted a straight base with a marked construction. The upper section was embellished with a narrow band, the ends of which generally fell on either side or showed ending in a ring[118]. Despite its small size, the symbol clearly represented a woven yellowish textile. Its length exceeded its width, and was connected to a band, the ends of which drew out and, depending on how firmly

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[107] These *ỉꜥ3w*-foreigners in this papyrus were associated with Iumiteru, Pathyris, and Sumenu, confirming the presence of «Egyptianized Nubians» in Gebelein for over almost a thousand years; GARDINER 1941: PL.XXXI, 35; 43-4; BELL 1976: 3, 89.

[108] GARDINER 1941: 35, 43-4; BELL 1976: 3.

[109] It was the most widespread in the New Kingdom with numerous variants in Pap. BM 10052, BM 10053, *BM* 10403, BM 10221, *BM* 10068, such as , , , , , , , , , and . GARDINER 1915: 12; BELL 1976: 3, 96, N°.22-24.

[110] Line 12, dated no earlier than year 24 of Ramesses XI=(year 6 of the Renaissance). ČERNÝ 1939: 65; BELL 1976: 3.

[111] GARDINER 1915: 117-125.

[112] WEILL 1906: 27-29.

[113] JÉQUIER 1910: 172-185; JÉQUIER 1915: 246-252.

[114] GOEDICKE 1960: 60-64.

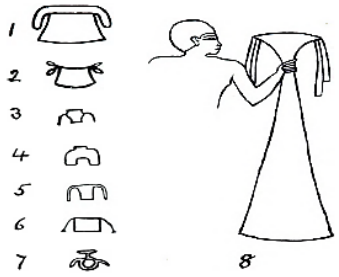
[115]Either Goedicke or Fischer were unnecessarily prejudiced about their conclusions because they limited their analysis to information from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. Middle and the New Kingdom data was necessary for a thorough comprehension of this word. GOEDICKE 1960: 172-174.

[116] BELL 1976: 4-18.

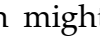
[117] The shape of the hieroglyphic sign (which was found on graffiti in various parts of Nubia, including Tomas, where mission heads used to inscribe their names on the rocks) differed slightly from the other one, which was left by the engravers of Aswan and Abydos. JÉQUIER 1910: 175.

[118] JÉQUIER 1915: 247.

sewed, fell when extended or contracted[119]. Gardiner collected all its examples in his article **[FIGURE 1]**[120]:



[FIGURE 1]: The whole examples of the sign as Gardiner collected on his article. GARDINER 1915: 119, PL.XI.

Erman suggested that this part ( ) (**Sign S 25)** be introduced as a caravan[121], where Breasted and Faulkner followed him in their translations[122]. Weill doubted this proposal, and sought to prove that the form represented a vase with handles. He identified it with a relatively similar sign that appeared in various writings of words containing the element .[123] Then, Golénischeff quoted the words *sacculi* and  , supporting the idea that in , the sign might depict a small sack with strings. He did not see such kinds of vases, even though he noted that these these vases were used in ancient Egypt[124]. Thus, he did not determine whether either his assumption or Weill's assumption was right[125].

Jéquier believed that it was unlikely that the sign was merely phonetic, considering it depicted a sizable bead on a thread. He believed it was part of a title,[126] because it represented the badge of office of some functionary. The badge is attached to the arm.[127]and might be read *ꜥḏnt* (Armband). He also considered the similarities

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[119] JÉQUIER 1915: 248.

[120] Nos.1-4 were from Sahure's relief inscriptions at Sabni, and Old Kingdom inscriptions from Sinai. Nos. 5-7 were Middle Kingdom inscriptions found in Sinai and Aswan. N°.8 was from the tomb of Methen. WEILL 1904: N°.19 (collated); GARDINER 1915: 119 PL.XI; SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 137.

[121] Erman seemed to interpreted the word as «caravan», because of his observation that the word almost exclusively occurred in connection with leaders. ERMAN 1904: 19; WEILL 1906: 28. GARDINER 1915: 124.

[122] GARDINER 1915: 118; FAULKNER 1953: 34.

[123] WEILL 1906: 27-29, XI, 200; JÉQUIER 1910: 172; GARDINER 1915: 117.

[124] GOLÉNISCHEF 1908: 85; GARDINER 1915: 118.

[125] GOLÉNISCHEF 1908: 85.

[126] JÉQUIER 1910: 174.

[127] Jéquier's considered the most frequent and least cursive model being without a doubt the one where the central part affected the rectangular shape. It presented a very characteristic analogy with certain ornamental objects figured on Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. These objects include large cylindrical pearls through which cord passed, and hanged from two sides. According to accompanying legends, they were sometimes worn on the arm. Other ornaments were worn, such as one that was shaped like a heart or semicircles , always with the two cords hanging down, which corresponded almost exactly as the main variants of the sign. The concordance was therefore obvious between the types of the hieroglyphic sign and the three varieties of the large threaded pearls from the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. There was hardly any doubt about their identity. JÉQUIER 1910: 175.

between the sign and vases, as Weill said[128], but it seemed to him to coincidental in the Herkhouf and Pepenakht's inscriptions[129]. But he retracted his opinion after Sahure's tomb was published. Other points of view considered the sign to depict a variety of different clothes, such as an apron, a kilt, a skirt, a loincloth, a mantle, or a cloak[130].

To sum up, the sign was composed of an almost rectangular central piece, sometimes slightly widened at the top, and placed horizontally; from the top of the vertical sides, curved lines fall to the left and the right[131], like the two ends of a cord that, on certain specimens, crosses the object in all its length[132]; in Weni's inscription, it came before the [133]sign, and it was in Sabni that it looked like a vase[134]. All these texts were engraved somewhat summarily, or at least without details in the signs, of which only the outline was clearly drawn[135].

The researcher proposes that since the sign was a component of the translator/interpreter title, there might be a shared point between the translator/interpreter and the scribe, who always carried his equipment wherever he was working.

Therefore, all opinions about the sign, fully discarding the idea of the vase or caravan, might achieve the objective of finding the closest description of the sign. It might be a type of clothing, sometimes ornate (an apron, a kilt, a skirt, a loincloth, a mantle, or a cloak), that was tied around the waist, but at the same time, it had a sack to contain the translator's tools, which were undoubtedly very close to the scribe's tools.

V. The Phonetic Construction of the Title and Its Meaning

The title took many phonetic pronunciations and translations; some closer to its specific meaning, while others were more distant.

- Erman noted that the title took place almost exclusively on the frontiers or in reference to foreign expeditions[136], from whence Breasted translated the composite

[128] Jéquier said: As a matter of fact, there was not, in ancient Egypt, any sort of vessel to which such a name could apply. It would be strange that a hieroglyph should represent an object which did not exist, and presently there is no difficulty in seeing that neither of the two signs can represent a vase with drooping ears. This is an incorrect expression should be struck out of Egyptologists's vocabularies. JÉQUIER 1915: 246.

[129] JÉQUIER 1910: 172, 174; SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 121[10]; 123.10, 15; 125.10; 131.15; 135[16].

[130] The form of the garment-whether depicted as an object presented in an offering scene or used as a hieroglyphic sign in the writing of the name of an object- was subject to considerable variation. Some of the examples were painted yellow or showed spots like those of a leopard. READ 1917: 142, N°.3; BELL 1976: 5.

[131] Jéquier considered that the sign originally denoted a special vestment, generalized later and applied to all sorts of clothing for men. It must have been used solely as an ideogram during this phase, with one well characterized instance that dates to the Thinite Period. It is rarely used as a determinative. JÉQUIER 1915: 251-252.

[132] SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, L.10.

[133] SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 120 L.17; 102 L. 5.

[134] SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 137 L. 5

[135] JÉQUIER 1910: 174.

[136] ERMAN 1904: 19; WEILL 1906: 28.

title as «caravan conductor»[137]in his records. Faulkner gave a couple of translations; a «caravan conductor» and a «dragoman»[138].

- **ꜥw, or *iꜥ3w*** in ***Imy-r3 ꜥ(w), (iꜥ3w)*** with the meaning «overseer of foreign mercenaries/ Egyptianized Nubians»[139], or «speaker of a foreign language»[140].
- *ꜥ3* with the meaning «Foreigner»[141]which was translated by Goyon[142] and later adopted by Leclant[143], Edel[144], Hornung[145], and Fischer.[146]Thus, it was «a chief of the Egyptianized foreigners» in ***Imy-r ꜥ3w***[147].
- Edel[148] and Helck (***Imy-r3 ỉꜥ3w.w***)[149] gave the meaning «overseer of the foreign languages».
- ***Imy-r3 ꜥ33w*** «the commanders of the Nubian auxiliary troops»[150].
- ***Mr ỉꜥ3w*** «chief of Nubian auxiliaries»[151].
- ***ꜥw*** «interpreter»[152], ***Imy-r3 ꜥw*** «overseer of interpreters»[153].
- ***ỉꜥw*** «interpreter»[154] or «director of foreigners»[155].
- ***Imy-r(3) ỉꜥ3w(w)***[156]«Egyptian interpreter or a foreigner/ Egyptianized Nubian»[157].

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[137] GARDINER 1915: 118.

[138] FAULKNER 1953: 34.

[139] WEILL 1906: 27; GARDINER 1915: 117-125; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.**1**, 159(9); SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 92; 113; 120; 131; 135; FISCHER 1996: 249; JONES 2000: 73-76. *Imy-r3 ỉꜥ3.w, imy-r ꜥw(w)*. SCHNEIDER 1998: 22, N°.131.

[140] WEILL 1910: 172-174; JEQUIER 1915: 246-252; PEET 1973: 224. So, *Imy-r3 ỉꜥ3ww* was a chef of the foreign language. DORET 1986: 32, N°.224.
It was closer to *Imy-r3 ỉꜥ3w* (overseers of foreign tongue speakers). SIMPSON 2003: 404.

[141]Gardiner said: «the initial monogram must read *3ꜥ* rather than *ꜥ3* since in letter case would surely have been written», but he admitted that it could be *ꜥ3ꜥ*. GARDINER 1984: 16-18.

[142] GOYON 1957: 56.

[143] LECLANT 1962: 213, N°.8

[144] EDEL 1971: 55, №.1, 63, N°. 25.

[145] HORNUNG 1963: 75(5).

[146] FISCHER 1964: 141.

[147] EDEL 1971: 55, 63.

[148] EDEL 1981: 128.

[149] HELCK 1975: 128

[150] WARD 1982: N°.59.

[151] JONES 2000: 74.

[152] Vercotter considered the title to be one of those of the Elephantine officials who undertook journeys to Nubia during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. VERCOTTER 1957: 62 N°.(c).

[153] FISCHER 1964: 29; PORTER & MOSS: *PM* 1981: vol.3, 77 G. 468.
'Intermediaries' between the Egyptians and Nubian. BELL 1976: 51-53.

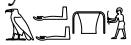
[154] ROCCATI 1982: 202.

[155] REDFORD 1986: 126, N°.8; CHEVEREAU 1987: 23(80-157).

[156] MURNANE 1975: 32; BELL 1976: N°.880, N°.909, 62-63, N°.899-904, 75-76, N°.1020-1028.

[157] Eichler's view considered that the term *ỉꜥ3w* was Egyptianized, and applied mostly Nubian foreigners. They appeared most frequently in the expedition areas, and their chiefs bore, by far, the most frequently used title of the Old Kingdom. He added that the function of these people was undoubtedly insufficiently represented by the usual translation «interpreter»: What was the use of so many translators in the desert areas? *ỉꜥ3w* represented (Nubian) auxiliary troops who belonged to the expedition personnel and probably performed both work in the quarries and paramilitary tasks. Further, the title of a simple *ỉꜥ3* was never attested in the expedition area. EICHLER 1993: 192, 197 & TAB.18, 328.

- *ʿw* is a kilt wearer and is not translated as interpreter. This translation may mean that the title bearer was part of the paramilitary units that were used as auxiliaries or perhaps police, like the Medjay in the Kingdom[158].

Firstly, to clarify this diversity in the title, the phonetic pronunciation, and the translation, we must have an insightful look at it. Gardiner gave good reasons why the form [159] was the early form of the New Kingdom word . He began with the ancient Egyptian term  [160], the particular determinative of which was an exceptional sign of importance. Erman[161] showed that the New Kingdom writing with regularly corresponded to the Old Kingdom writing with . So for example , «ape» for ancient , , «Cup» for ancient . Another Old Kingdom writing for the former of these two writings was apparently , and in early compounds, appears equal to [162].

Secondly, what reason is there for supposing that can be the equivalent of the later in the phonetical article quoted above? Erman[163] showed that was a common equivalent from the Middle Kingdom onwards both for old and for later , for , late , and for , late [164]. Thus, Gardiner counted on «the dragoman Efersonb» (Cairo M.K. Stele 20035)[165], to be the clearest link between the old title, ,on the one hand and, , on the other[166].

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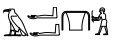
[158] REDFORD 2004: 20.

[159] This rendering of the Old Kingdom form seems to receive remarkable corroboration in one of the instances quoted by Gardiner himself, if in this instance he has taken it in its full context. A certain Khuy, buried at Saqqara, was described as . Here it is impossible to understand the last two words other than as dependent on ; it should translate as «royal physician, interpreter of a difficult science». Here, the proposition «interpreter», proposed by Gardiner, is perfect. The «difficult science» is, of course, medicine; «interpreter» is used in a semi-metaphorical sense. QUIBELL 1907: 22; PEET 1973: 224.

[160] Gardiner tried to argue that the stem  (old) means to speak a foreign language and that the , also means «speakers of a foreign language», whether as actual foreigners, or whether as Egyptians, who could serve as dragomans or interpreters.
The evidence was fragmented and ambiguous, but Gardiner believed that the explanation presented here is the best. GARDINER 1915: 120.

[161] ERMAN 1904: 19.

[162] SPIEGELBERG 1906: 162; GARDINER 1915: 120.

[163] ERMAN 1904: 19-21.

[164] GARDINER 1915: 123.

[165] LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 43, N°.20035.

[166] Gardiner tended to attach more importance to it than would otherwise be justifiable because it occurred on a stele which, though roughly carved, was orthographically immaculate. GARDINER 1915: 123.

Thirdly, the contexts in which it alluded to a god were appropriate for the meaning «interpreter,» e.g., in the Coffin Texts[167], in Amduat[168], «BD»97[169],«BD»125c.[170] Schenkel[171] described Thoth as «skilled in foreign languages», which was emphasized by Černý when he cited «Thoth as Creator of Languages in the New Kingdom»[172] according to a Thoth hymn (1.6)[173], the same on Turin, Pleyte-Ro, 25, 10[174], and from British Museum. Stela 551, L.19[175].

Furthermore, these texts revealed that Egyptian gods were seen to have some concern for other countries at that time and had ceased being purely national. Thoth's title «Lord of Iunut» and the «Lord of Foreign Lands»[176] was being used as early as the Fifth dynasty[177], and ***ỉꜥ3w n (y) ỉb nb***, «the interpreter of every heart,» was used in a New Kingdom hymn[178].

Thoth's role was defined earlier than the hymn to Aton, which expressed this idea and observed that Aton was also said to be responsible for distinguishing (***wsi***) the languages of mankind and differentiating (***stni***) their skin color: 'tongues are distinguished in speaking, their character likewise; their skin is made different, because thou hast differentiated the peoples'[179].

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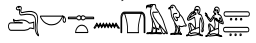
[167] *ḥwwt.k is ḫr ṯbwty·k(y) wnn.i ḥm n.k m ỉꜥ3w.k.* Rest assured that I shall serve as your interpreter no matter what surface you walk on (or anywhere you go). FAULKNER 1973: 60; BELL 1976: 88.

[168] The Sun god Re was described as *ỉꜥ3w dw3t* «The Interpreter of the Afterworld»; Hornung considered that this epithet might be related to the foreigners represented in the Book of Gates. HORNUNg 1963: 75(5); BELL 1976: 88, 201, Nº.1202.

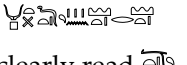
[169] *ỉnk ỉꜥ3w n(y)r(3).f,* «I am the interpreter of his speech (lit.: mouth)». BELL 1976: 88.

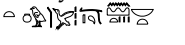
[170] The deceased is encountering obstacles at the door of the Hall of the Two Truths, where his heart is to be cleansed of all guilt. The doorkeeper of this Hall says: «I won't announce thee unless you state my name». «Thy name is Knower of Hearts, Searcher out of Bodies». «What deity shall I announce thee to in his hour??»:  *ḏd.k st n ỉꜥ3w t3wy.* The Interpreter of the Two Lands is how Thoth is depicted in this passage, which is not surprising; the Greek god Hermes was the interpreter par excellence, and the word «interpreter» itself is derived from his name in Greek as we mentioned before. GARDINER 1917: 134.

[171] *LÄ* mentioned the year and write the word. *LÄ*.vol.2, Col, 315.

[172] ČERNÝ 1948: 121-122; BELL 1976: 88.

[173] It is a hymn to Thoth from the collection of Leipzig University. It consists of I2 lines written on one side of a piece of limestone. In 1.6 Thoth is invoked in terms: *wp(i) ns n(y) ḫ 3st r k(i)t(i)* (*vꜥr.: r ḫ3st*), «Hail to thee, Moon-Thoth, who made different the tongue of one country from another» , *ꜥnd stnw ns n(y) ḫ3swt nb(w)t,* the person who could between every foreign language's tongue. «This terminology use undoubtedly explains the substitution that took place in the Saite recension of «BD» 125c when *stnw* came to replace *ỉꜥ3w*». ČERNÝ 1948: 121; BELL 1976: 88.

[174]  According to the published facsimile, the papyrus is not very legible, and we must clearly read instead of . ČERNÝ 1948: 121.

[175]  'Who distinguished the tongue of every foreign. ČERNÝ 1948: 121.

[176] ČERNÝ 1948: 122.

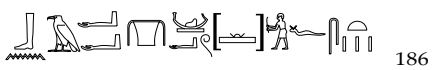
[177] BELL 1976: 201, Nº.1201

[178] BELL 1976: 88.

[179] Thoth most likely distinguished between the tongues of the different nations based on a myth or legend that has since been lost. According to New Kingdom beliefs, Thoth was the one who created foreign languages. DAVIES 1908: PL.27, 11[8-9]; ČERNÝ 1948: 122; BELL 1976: 88.

Gardiner's view also considered the word probably originated from the verb, «to speak a foreign tongue», and with its new determinative. A very common indication of what is foreign in the New Kingdom is to translate as «foreigner»[180].

Spiegelberg's suggestion that correspondeds to **βαρβαριζειν** 'to speak and act like a barbarian', 'to speak gibberish'[181], was valid for the other uses of this word.[182]The connection between the linguistic origin of «***Ỉꜥ3w***» matches up with the names of the ancestors of these «Egyptianized Nubians» «***Ỉꜥ3ww***» «babblers».[183]The word denoted chatter and incomprehensible speech[184], since the Egyptians probably could not understand the Nubians and other foreign people. It was the ancient Egyptian onomatopoeia for Nubian and foreign speech, which they could not understand. It was shown in the text «***nḥsy Ỉꜥ3w***» [185]«talkative Nubian», in Pap. Anastasi I 28.6:

 [186]

bn Ỉꜥ3w wḥꜥ(w).f st «words are confusing to hear.»
(So that) even an interpreter would have trouble understanding them. In Pap. Sallier I, ro. 7. 11- 8. 1:

[187]

«*m nḥsy(w) Ỉꜥ3wy.ti iw Ỉn(iw).f m pȝ Ỉnw*»
«as a gibbering Nubian who is brought with the tribute».

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[180] Gardiner added that the reason was that the former was clearly a title while the latter was equally clearly not. It would be more literal to substitute «speaker of a foreign language». GARDINER 1915: 122. Goedicke considered this view as strange. GARDINER 1960: 60, 64.
But, the new translation as foreigner confirmed the authenticity and the continuity of the title as a translator. SHOAIB 2021: 176.

[181] He emphasized the onomatopoetic character of the Egyptian word, which had a Greek equivalent. The Old Kingdom term was, as usual, transcribed ꜥ, but a more correct term was ꜥȝ. SPIEGELBERG 1893: 41-42; GOEDICKE 1960: 60, N°.2.

[182] It was still in a high effect until Sethe discovered that this form (as we mentioned before) was a title for the heads of Egyptian officials who sailed to Syria. Sethe suggested shipmate (Maat) as a new translation. SETHE 1913: 87.

[183]BELL 1976: 91.

[184] The same verb most likely appeared in the story of Sinuhe, although it was so in an unclear form at first glance that Gardiner, like pervious translators, was compelled to speculate. He assumed that , after left untranslated might well mean «cried aloud»; for instance, in Sinuhe's battle with the mighty man of retenu, «every heart burned for me, women and men…, every heart was sore for me ' (B 131-3= R 157, 8). The excited way in which the Retenu- people discussed the subject naturally in their own language was undoubtedly a more psychologically accurate interpretation. By using the half-contemptuous word, Sinuhe denoted the cacophony of weird sounds that emerged on that memorable occasion. GARDINER 1915: 122-123.

[185] *Nḥsy ḥtp* had long been acknowledged as mercenary troops who supported the Egyptian army. SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 211, 3[10];
Borchardt stated that the *Nhsy htp* should be connected with the Nubian countries. BORCHARDT 1905: 7. The connection between the *imy-r Ỉꜥ3w* and the *Nḥsyw nyw ḫ3swt iptn* also in Weni's account of the army he commanded. SETHE 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 102, 5.8; GOEDICKE 1960: 63.

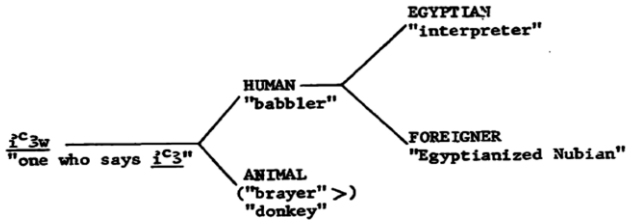
[186] SPIEGELBERG has quite correctly observed that can only mean in this passage, «to speak gibberish», «to speak in a foreign language». GARDINER 1915: 120-121.

[187] SPIEGELBERG 1893: 41-42; GARDINER 1915: 121.

It becomes essential to our discussion that ***ỉʿ3w*** appeared in Pap. Boulaq 18. A ***mḏ3y ỉʿ3w***, which one is tempted to read as «Medjay interpreter» is included among the small group of ***mḏ3yw*** «Medjay Nubians», whose arrival at Thebes was supposed to have occurred at the end of the Middle Kingdom. It has a meaning that certainly fits the circumstances. However, only Egyptians are referred to as ***ỉʿ3w*** in the sense of «interpreter»[188] .There was evidence for the word ***ỉʿ3w*** from a 20th dynasty papyrus (B.M. 10052). Peet translated ***ỉʿ3w***, in reference to the Papyri (10. 11), as «Nubian»[189]. This is apparently an incorrect translation, and was influenced by the abbreviated writing and its placement in the same line of the expression ***ms Nḥsy*** «young Nubian».[190]

Finally, the word ***ỉʿ3w*** **is used to mean** donkey, referencing the braying sound of the animal[191]. This word, an example of slang, became acceptable in the literary language and adopted a certain respectability when applied to the interpreters. Interpreters saw this term as quite complimentary, because it denoted a person was capable of comprehending or interpreting.

Overall, the most accurate transliteration for the form was *ỉʿ3w*, which passed through some transformations in its meaning as follows:



Additionally, since it was an authentic word that rose from an onomatopoeia, the form in was used for the singular and plural[192], like in [193]«depending on the context»[194].

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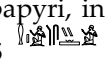
[188] It's interesting to note that the syntax of this construction shows up with two nouns in apposition rather than as a noun and an adjective: «a Medjay Nubian, (namely) an Egyptianized one» =«an Egyptianized Medjay Nubian» = *ỉʿ3w ny mḏ3*. Here, a Nubian became Egyptianized and is working for the Egyptian King, and is ostensibly accompanying a Medjay chief during an official visit to the Egyptian court. BELL 1976: 87.

[189] PEET 1926: 257.

[190] The scarcity of references to *Nḥsyw*, «Nubians» in the Tomb-robbery papyri, in addition to this *ms Nḥsy*, only a *ḥm Nḥsy*, «Nubian slave» is mentioned in Pap. Amherst 3.5  . It should make us suspect that another term was being used to refer to them. PEET 1926: PL.V; BELL 1976: 202, N°.1205.

[191] Apparently, the donkey sound was underling the Semitic *ʿyr*. It was probably that the appellation *ỉʿ3w*, was initially derisive, mocking unusual speech of Nubians, the only outsiders with whom the Egyptians had any regular contact throughout the Old Kingdom. BELL 1976: 74-75.

[192] SHOAIB 2021: 174-175.

[193] It is indicated by the variant of the title as applied to Pepinakht «overseer of all dragomans» SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 132.

[194] as plural form «overseer of dragomans». It started to be used by Harkhuf. 123) Pepinakht (131) and others (134). GARDINER 1915: 124; SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1.

While the plural form appeared during the Middle Kingdom[195], in the rock inscriptions in the north Terminus of the Medik-Tomas road[196], the form ,at Sayâleh, and the Middle Kingdom equivalent, applied to Sirenpowet I .[197]

Evidently, other forms referred to somewhat lower grades of rank than the title . In Sinai, there was one instance where each of the titles (*Ỉmy ḫt Ỉꜥ3w*)[198], (*sḫḏ Ỉꜥ3w*) [199] (inspector) (unpublished)[200], and the title (*sḫm Ỉꜥ3w*)[201]was first used by two officials buried in Saqqara[202].

VI. *Ỉꜥ3w*'s Representation in Scenes

The oldest real evidence of *Ỉ3ꜥw* in human history with his title above him was found in the legendary Egyptian bas-relief from the fifth dynasty (2485-2472) Temple of the Sun at Abusir. These depicted the returning ships from Phenicia (Attributed to the III millennium BC)[203] **[Figure 2]**[204].

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[195] The plural determinative in (weni's text) was to be associated with the rank «overseers» rather than the element to give the meaning overseers of dragomans. Sethe: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 102[5].

(For this use of the determinative , see: Sethe 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 102[3-6]; Bell 1976: 94-95, N°.10.

Also, the corresponding singular form written in Sethe 1933: *Urk,* vol.1, 125 L. 10, 127 L. 11.

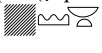
[196] Weigall 1977: 50 [6-8].

[197] Gardiner 1915: 124.

[198] Weill 1904: 114, N°.12.

[199] Gardiner & Peet 1917: Pl.VII, N°.13 = Sethe: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 56.

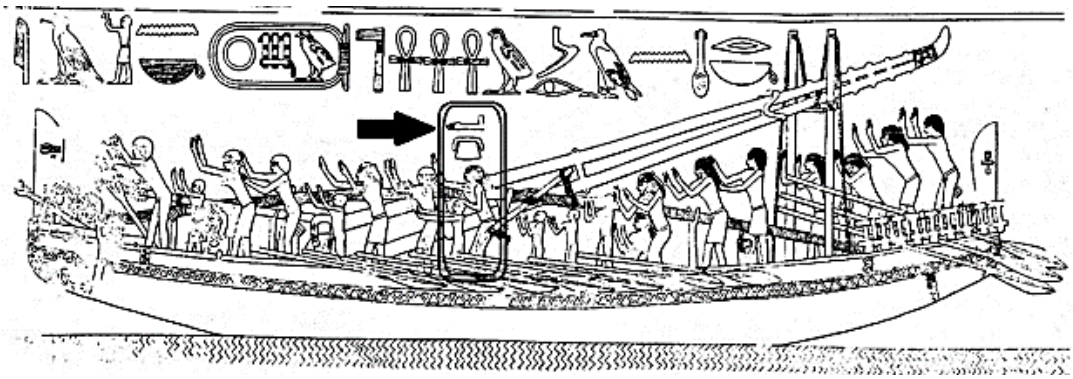
[200] Goedicke's view considered that while *ḥrp ꜥ* (*ḥrp Ỉꜥ3w*) was rarely found, *Ỉmy-r ꜥ* (*Ỉmy-r3 Ỉꜥ3w*) was attested much more frequently. The oldest example was in a graffito in the *Wadi Maghara* from the time of Djedkare-Isesi, or the end of the Fifth dynasty. However, the name of the official was destroyed. All other occurrences of the title *Ỉmy-r3 Ỉꜥ3w* belonged to the Sixth dynasty and later. Further, he considered *ḥrp ꜥ* (*ḥrp Ỉꜥ3w*) to be the old form of *imy-r ꜥ* (*Ỉmy-r3 Ỉꜥ3w*), or that the latter, a new creation, replaced the older *ḥrp ꜥ* (*ḥrp Ỉꜥ3w*). Goedicke 1960: 62-63.

[201] In the latter case, the addition  «[of?] every foreign land», though damaged, was significant. There is nothing astonishing in overseers and superintendents of dragomans being buried in Saqqara near the capital; For refusing the institution of interpreters with different ranks. L.D II, 85a. 101a; Gardiner 1915: 125; Goedicke 1960: 61.

[202] According to Goedicke, the title *sḫm ꜥ* (*sḫm Ỉꜥ3w*) was mentioned four times in the Old Kingdom (4th & 5th dynasties): *K3ḥyf, K3nfr* (G.2150), his son *K3iswḏ3* (G.5340), and *Ỉyḏf3*, who might also be in some way related to *K3nfr's* family. After this time, the title does not occur. Goedicke 1960: 61.

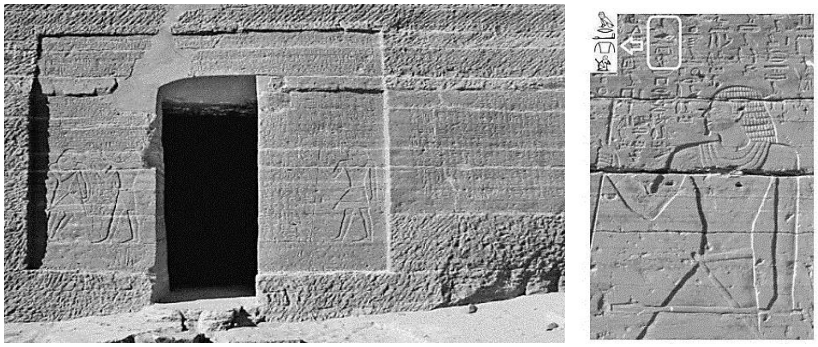
[203] Sethe 1913: 87.

[204] Fragmentary reliefs depicted a fleet of seafaring ships returning from an expedition, while the number of Syrians onboard suggested that the ships had sailed the Mediterranean to Byblos or some other destination in Syria. Sahura's ships were over 17.5 m long and 4 m wide. The ships had either 14 or 16 oars for propulsion, six steering oars, a bipod mast for a trapezoid sail, and an anchor. There were at least four ships in the fleet, and each ship was crewed by approximately 20 people made up of Egyptians, Syrians, and perhaps other maritime peoples. Sethe 1913: 72-132, 87, Pls.9-14; Gilbert 2008: 33-34; Shoaib 2021: Pl.8.



[FIGURE 2]: A seagoing ship from the reign of King Sahura. SETHE 1913: 72-132, 87, PLS.9-14, PLS.12-13; SHOAIB 2021: PL.8.

More precisely, scholars figured out that the records of language mediators in ancient Egypt date back to the sixth dynasty (c. 24th–22nd century BC)[205]. This is evidenced in the titles of the Elephantine Nobles (e.g., Iry, Hrykhuf, Mekho, Sabni, and Bebnekht) inside their rock tombs in Qubit al-Hawā in the west of Aswan **[FIGURE 3]**[206]**.** This place had a significant role in the Egyptian administration because it was Egypt's southernmost outpost. Both military and economic activities against Nubia lay in the hands of officials residing there[207].



[FIGURE 3]: A Governor of Aswan and A Chief of Translators hrykhuf, Qebt El-Hawa, in the west of Aswan. VISCHAK, 2015: 99, FIG.33; SHOAIB 2021: 251, FIG.9.

Also, we can see the double scene from the royal interpreter Merre II's tomb, when he was translating the ongoing conversations between the foreign delegations and King Akhenaten **[FIGURE 4/a]**[208]**.** The same scene is found in the of the royal interpreter Tutu's tomb, in which he is shown translating the speeches of the delegations to king Akhenaten **[FIGURE 4/b]**[209].

[205] LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

[206] VISCHAK 2015: 99, FIG.33; SHOAIB 2021: 251, FIG.9.

[207] GOEDICKE 1960: 62-63.

[208] DAVIES 1905: PL.33; SHOAIB 2021: 252, PL.11.

[209] DAVIES 1908: 12, PL.20; SHOAIB 2021: 253, PL.12.

[FIGURE 4/a]: From the tomb of Merre II, Amarna (18th dynasty)

[FIGURE 4/b] from the tomb of Tutu Tomb, Amarna (18th dynasty)

In another double scene from Horemheb's tomb, the interpreter is shown translating a foreign delegation's complaint to the minister. The army commander ,Horemheb, presents the message to King Tutankhamun **[FIGURE 5]**[210]. The scenes reflect Horemheb's role[211] as a mediator between the king and foreign leaders[212].

[FIGURE 5]: From the Tomb of Horemheb, Saqqara (the 18th dynasty)

In this context, we cannot ignore the retired officer, royal scribe, and high priest of Tinis, Anhurmose, who was recorded in the 14th century BC as a specific interpreter/translator of ancient Egypt **[FIGURE 6]**[213]**.**

[FIGURE 6]: From the Tomb of Anhurmose, Nag al-Mashaykh, near Abydos (19th dynasty). FROOD 2007: 107, FIG.6; SHOAIB 2021: 252, PL.10.

There are Some Different Views about the *ỉʿ3w*'s in the Translation Scenes

[210] ALLUÉ 1995: 123; SHOAIB 2021: 253, PL.13.

[211] Horemheb had two portraits as an interpreter in his tomb's bas-relief. The first image shows him being pointed out to the king. The second shows him with the ambassadors, who took part in the court. Unfortunately, the pieces of this tomb are in several European museums after they were cut off and sold. LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

[212] ALLUÉ 1995: 123.

[213] FROOD 2007: 107, FIG.6; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289; SHOAIB 2021: 252, PL.10.

- Some scholars agreed with this depiction of *𓄿𓂋𓅱*, but they determined that the figure of the interpreter/translator was much smaller in comparison with the others. Those scholars assumed that this occupation had a low social status in ancient Egypt[214], which was incorrect.
- Goedicke[215] had an extreme point of view, as he totally refused this representation, saying: «The group is placed in scenes above persons who differ in their appearance from the rest of the crew, which is clearly depicted as Asian. The persons labeled performed a particular kind of gesture different from that of the Asian people. They had one arm lifted up in adoration, while the other was placed on the head of an Asian standing in front of them. The number of persons represented thus performing this particular kind of gesture exceeded many times the number of cases where was written. In one ship, for instance, there were no less than six persons of this kind; in others, less well preserved, even more. Their appearance in such great numbers made it difficult to consider them as 'interpreters'. It seems to me more likely that was used here in an attempt to specify certain persons as 'foreigners' where it was not obvious from their appearance».

Finally, there were no differences between interpreter and translator in reliefs, but there was proof that there was a distinction between the professional activities of interpreter and translator, i.e., interpreting served external contacts versus translation being carried out in the area of diplomatic correspondence and contractual texts[216].

VII. CONCLUSION

Translation and interpretation were laborious, and esoteric arts that required extraordinary skills, performed by a special professional class known as *𓄿𓂋𓅱*. This class worked at the offices of the kings and in the temples of ancient Egypt. Identifiable members of the largest group of those *𓄿𓂋𓅱* were determined by the inscriptions discovered during reporting missions in Sinai, Lower Nubia, and other locations outside of Egypt. The frequent appearance of these titles in documents from foreign countries played a significance role, leading to the assumption that the word «*𓄿𓂋𓅱*» referred specifically to interpreters and translators. Therefore, the reference to the «*Imy-r 𓄿𓂋𓅱*» implies that the person who held it was in control of several lesser officials under his responsibility.

The word *𓄿𓂋𓅱* was documented from the reign of Sahure (ca. 2487-2473 BC) (the 5th dynasty) to Ramesses XI (1113-1085 BC) (20th dynasty) and into the Coptic period. Many phonetic pronunciations and translations of the title were attempted, with some coming closer to their intended meaning than others. Ultimately, the activities of ancient Egyptian translators developed, achieving a powerful impetus for prosperity that led to the annexation of many foreign-speaking lands and countries through military conquests.

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[214] MASPERO 2002: XVI, CXVI; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

[215] GEODICKE 1960: 64.

[216] LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

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A ROMAN FORT AT KHIRBET AL-KILYA IN THE WEST BANK HIGHLANDS OF PALESTINE

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ABSTRACT

[AR] قلعة رومانية في خربة الكيلية في مرتفعات وسط فلسطين

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة خربة الكيلية التي تقع شمال شرق مدينة رام الله على مرتفعات وسط فلسطين التاريخية بالقرب من مدينة تل التل الكنعانية، حيث أسست السلطات الإسرائيلية المستوطنة التي تدعى ريمونيم بالقرب من خربة الكيلية في عام 1977. وقد أجريت التنقيبات الأثرية الوحيدة في الخربة من قبل سلطة الآثار الاسرائيلية باشراف الأثري يتسحق ماجن من خلال اجراء خمسة مواسم أثرية – غير شرعية- ما بين 1982- 1988م. علمًا بأنه حسب المادة (27) من اتفاقية جنيف بتاريخ (05/14/ 1954م) والتي تنص على حماية الممتلكات الثقافية في حالة النزاع المسلح والاحتلال العسكري. وقد توصلت نتائج التنقيب الأثري إلى اكتشاف قلعة رومانية تحولت فيما بعد إلى دير مسيحي في الفترة البيزنطية. وقد أعاد الباحث دراسة خربة الكيلية من جديد -والتي تبلغ مساحتها 20 دونم -من حيث الوصف المعماري وتحليل وانتاج الخرائط والمخططات ذات الجودة العالية اعتمادًا على نتائج التنقيبات الأثرية التي قام بها يتسحاق ماجن في بداية التسعينيات من القرن الماضي. وتوصل الباحث إلى الاستنتاج بأن الموقع قد أعيد استخدامه ليس فقط كدير مسيحي في الفترة البيزنطية، وإنما استخدم أيضًا في الفترات الاسلامية المختلفة، وبخاصة خلال الفترة الأموية والفترتين المملوكية والعثمانية كقاعدة عسكرية تشرف عل المناطق المجاورة لها كالغور الفلسطيني والمناطق الجبلية المجاورة في منطقة شرق رام الله. وكذلك لا بد من الإشارة إلى أن بناء مستوطنة ريمونيم الاسرائيلية بالقرب من خربة الكيلية يُعد انتهاكًا واضحًا للقوانين الدولية التي تتعلق بعدم اجراء تنقيبات أثرية في الأراضي المحتلة واغلاق المستوطنين والجيش الاسرائيلي للخربة وحرمان السكان الأصليين الفلسطينيين من كتابة تاريخهم بأنفسهم وزيارة مواقعهم الأثرية وتنظيم الرحلات السياحية إليها؛ لذلك فإن الهدف من هذه الدراسة تقديم معلومات جديدة مختلفة عن التي قدمها يتسحق ماجن تقوم على ترويج لثقافة الشعب الفلسطيني وحضارته في الفترتين الرومانية والبيزنطية.

[EN] In the central highlands of Palestine, a Roman fort at Khirbet al-Kilya in the was converted into a monastery during the Byzantine period. The site is located five kilometres to the east of the Israeli settlement of Rimonim. Overlooking Wādī Wahīda, the fort lies between the Palestinian villages of Dair Dibwan (near the Canaanite city, Tell ET-Tell) and al Taybeh. This paper aims to highlight the presence of Roman forts in Palestine, and their conversion to Byzantine monasteries. Specific goals were to investigate the fort at Khirbet al-Kilya (20 Dumns), to update the stratigraphical and chronological information for the site, and to document the structural remains. Additionally, other objectives included producing a site map and drawings of the building layout and architectural features, since the fort was neither mapped nor photographed by Magen. In addition, we reproduced high quality photos and plans of the archaeological site of Khirbet al-Kilya while providing a descriptive study of the site's architecture and analysis. The methodology of this study relied on sources and references published in various journals, books, and reports, particularly those published by Yitzhak Magen.

KEYWORDS: al-Kilya, Khirbet, monasteries, Palestine, Ramallah, Roman fort.

I. INTRODUCTION

This work aims to examine the role of fortifications found in the central highlands of Palestine, with a particular focus on the Roman fort at Khirbet al-Kilya[1] **[FIGURE 1].** Some of the forts functioned as important defensive structures for towns and palaces, while others served as military bases for garrisoned troops. The forts of Masada and Alexandrium, found in remote locations, do not appear to have been connected to any city, but due to their isolation and high altitude, they are thought to have served as royal refuges, as at Herodium and Masada[2]. Because peristyle courtyards and Roman baths were features found at several of the forts, it is unlikely that the forts were built solely for garrisoned soldiers. Many of them served as a network of refuges for Herod, away from palaces and towns. The reason he heavily fortified Sebastia would have been to create the safest possible refuge in his kingdom. Herod's strong defensive fortification strategy was not as much for the protection of ordinary citizens, as it was for his own and his family's safety, and the security of his property[3]. Examining the late Roman period fort at Khirbat al-Kilya[4] would explain the processes involved in its conversion into a monastery.

The research aims were to verify and update the stratigraphy and chronology of the site, to provide documentation on its building structures, and to create a site map with the aid of high-resolution imagery. We referred to primary and secondary sources and preliminary and final archaeological excavation reports. The research focuses on the Roman and Byzantine periods between 63 BC and 638 AD (16H) and concentrates on the central highlands of Palestine.

The Khirbet al-Kilya site is in Area C[5] and therefore comes under Israeli administrative and military control[6]. There were 675 inhabitants in 2019[7]. Located on high ground above Wadi Wahidah[8] between the Palestinian villages of al-Taybeh to the north and Dair Dibwan to the south, it is in close to proximity to the Canaanite city of Tall Et -Tall (Ai) **[FIGURES 1 - 3]**. Most of these places are located in Areas A or B and fall under Palestinian control, as laid down by the 1995 Oslo II Accord between the

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[1] Israeli archaeologists claim that this site is mentioned in the Old Testament. It talks about the valley of Achor which is mentioned in relation to the aftermath of the fall of Jericho when the Israelis came from Egypt to Palestine. JOSHUA 7: 24-26).

[2] MURPHY-O'CONNOR & CUNLIFFE 2008: 378–381.

[3] LEE 2005: 73.

[4] It can be written also as Khirbet el-Kiliya.

[5] The 1995 Oslo II Agreement divided the Palestinian territories, excluding East Jerusalem, into three zones: Area A) comprising disconnected districts, includes 17.2 percent of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and is under the full security and civil control of the Palestinian Authority. Area B) 23.8 percent, is under Israeli security control, while the Palestinian Authority is responsible for some social and civil services. Area C) approximately 59 percent, is under full Israeli occupation. The three areas were theoretically a first step in Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank, as required under U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. Further significant withdrawals, to be completed by May 1999, never took place. See Occupied Territories; Autonomous Areas; U.N. Resolutions.

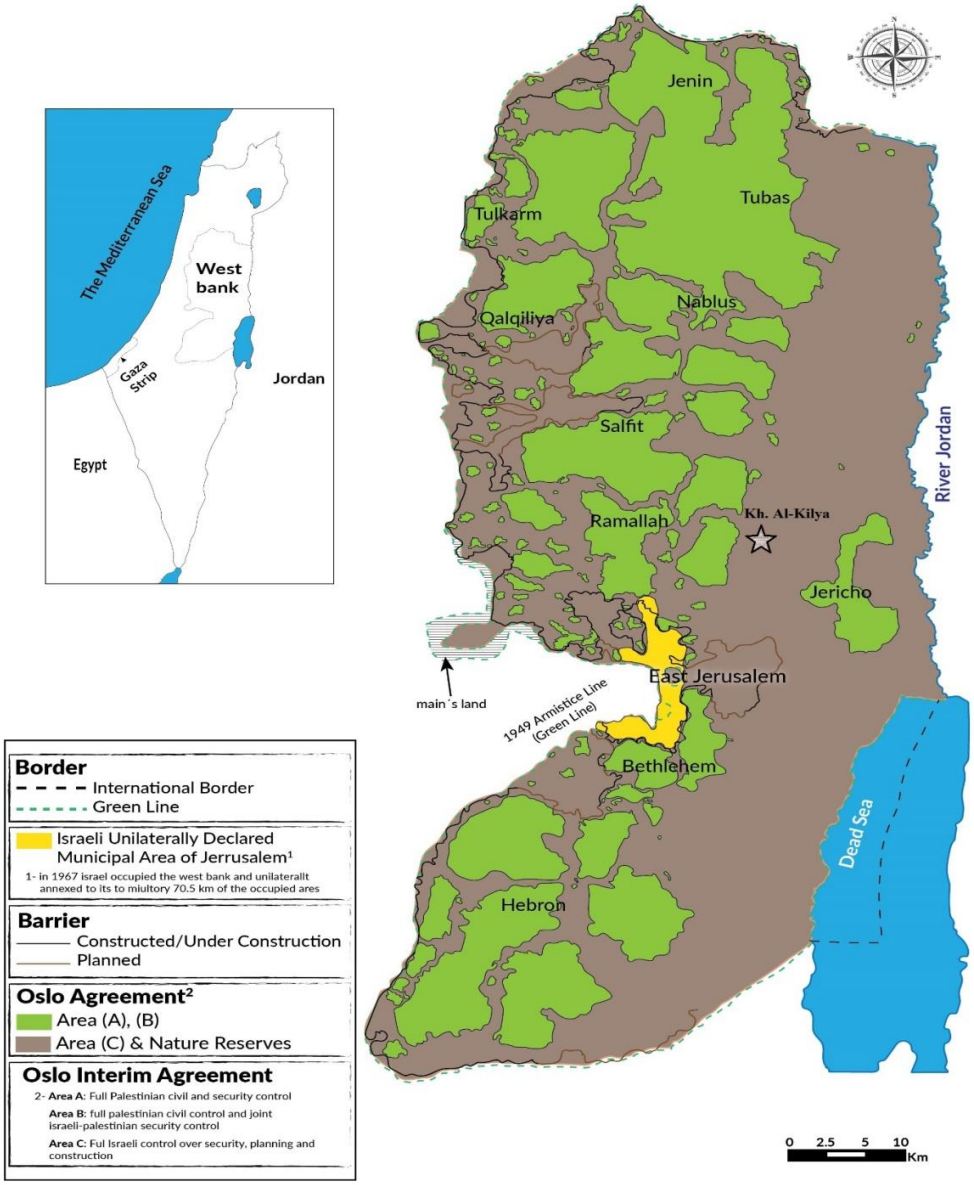
[6] ABU ALSAUD 2018: 191.

[7] Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2019: Localities File (XLS).

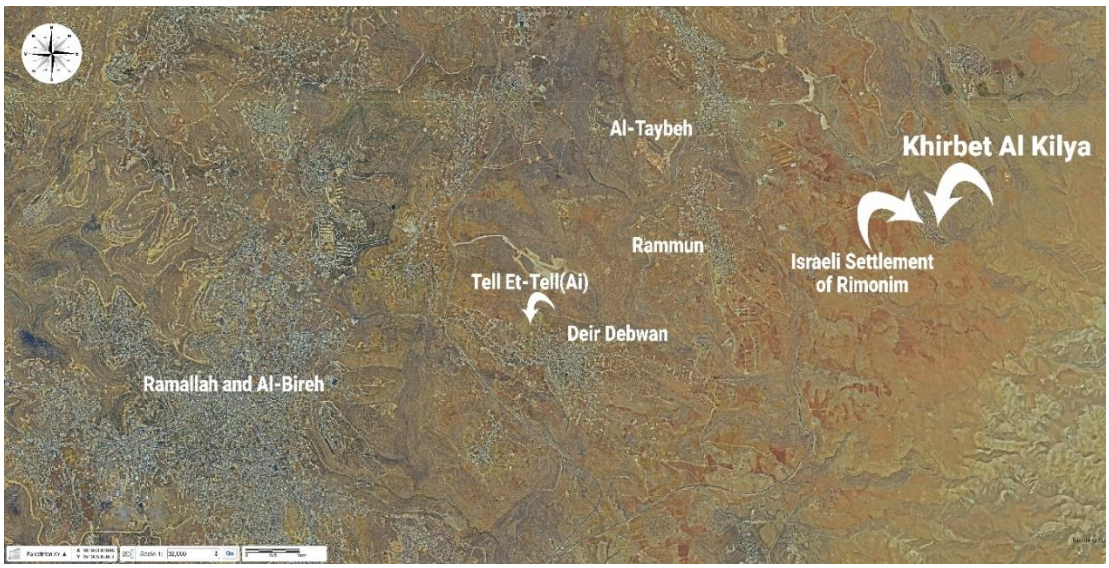
[8] *IOG* 18265/14875; *ITM* 23265/64875.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel. However, as the Khirbet al-Kilya site is located in Area C, under Israeli administration and military control, Palestinian archaeologists and researchers are prohibited from visiting the site.

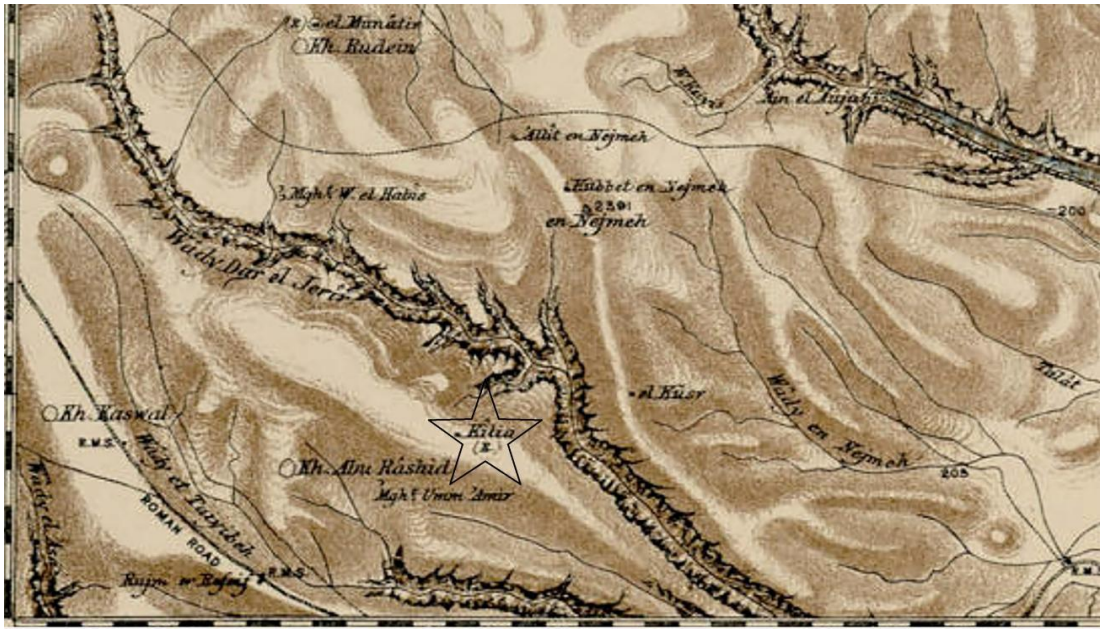
Due to this, our study focuses on reports of archaeological excavations at the site that were carried out by Y. Magen between 1982 and 1988, over a five-month period in total. Over a century earlier, in 1869, Victor Guérin had visited and described the site (REF). East of the site, there are several caves that may have served as monastic cells. The monastery complex, covering an area of over 2000 m² (2 dunams) comprises two adjoining units, labelled Buildings 1 and 2. Both buildings are square and Building 1 is to the north of Building 2. On the eastern side of the monastery on the slope above the wadi, there are several caves that may have served as cells for the monks, a large cistern, steps hewn into the rock, and agricultural terraces. In the south-eastern and north-western parts of the grounds, there are circular structures that may have been sheep or goat pens during the Islamic period.



[FIGURE 1]: The location of the Khirbet al-Kilya in West Bank and the political divisions A-B & C area © Drawing by ABU ALSAUD & JAWABREH.



[FIGURE 2]: Areail view of the site © Geomolog: www.geomolog.ps, accessed on (15/03/2024)



[FIGURE 3]: Map of the site according to the survey Palestine © PEQ in 1880, Sheet 15.

II. STUDY METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this study relied on sources and references published in various journals, books, and reports, particularly those published by Yitzhak Magen (1990 & 2012). In addition, this study produced high quality photos and plans of the archaeological site of Khirbet al-Kilya (20 Dunms). Finally, the researcher conducted a descriptive study of the site's architecture and analysis to create a database about the ancient fortress in Palestine. It is very important for Palestinian archaeologists to develop this site database for the tourism sector when Israel ends its occupation of the study area, and becomes subject to Palestinian control.

III. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Palestine, along with other provinces of the eastern Roman Empire, came under Roman occupation in 63 BC, with the arrival of Pompey in the Middle East. The Transjordan area was in a state of turmoil at the time, ravaged by a civil war between two brothers, Hyrcanus and Artistobulus. Aristobulus forced Pompey's intervention in the conflict by bribing him to help when he was besieged by Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. Pompey placed Hyrcanus in charge of the kingdom as ethnarch and high priest. In addition, Pompey freed Greek coastal and Transjordan cities from Jewish control and formed the Decapolis, an alliance of ten cities[9].

After the rise of Julius Caesar and the defeat of Pompey, the port city of Jaffa was assigned to Palestine. The former ruler of Antipater became king of Palestine after the death of the regional ruler and his two sons, Herod and Phasaelus, who had become governors of Jerusalem and Galilee, respectively. Antipater was assassinated by means of poisoning, but his pro-Roman policy and useful connections were later exploited by Herod the Great in his rise to power. With the support of the Roman Senate, Herod became king of Palestine in 40 BC, but did not gain complete military control until three years later. He promoted Hellenization by founding the Greek cities of Caesarea and Sebastia and contributing to existing ones. His Roman and Greek policies made him unpopular with his Jewish subjects, and rebuilding the Jewish temple on the Temple Mount was not enough to appease these non-Greek subjects. However, he was held in high regard by the Roman authorities and the Roman Emperor, Augustus, who added new territory to his domain. This included several coastal cities, Samaria, and territories in Jordan. Herod's reign was seen as a time of prosperity and growth for Palestine, but excessive taxation ended this[10].

After Herod's death in 4 BC and the death or dismissal of all his sons, Palestine became a Roman province ruled by a governor from Rome. The province included Palestine, Samaria and Idumea, but not Galilee, Gaulanitis, Perea or the Decapolis cities. A Roman prefect remained governor until Julius Agrippa gained control of the territories of Herod's sons in 39 AD. He was succeeded in 44 AD by his own son, Agrippa, who ruled for forty-two years. Both father and son were dependent on the Roman procurators of the central highlands. In 66 AD there was a Jewish uprising in Jerusalem. To stop the revolt before it spread, Cestius, the legate of Syria marched on Jerusalem with the Legio XII Fulminata and some auxiliary units of the Syrian Army. The Roman army was ambushed and defeated by the Jewish rebels at Betonia on its way to Jerusalem. This led to further rebellion in the province. The Jewish-Roman war lasted seven years although it officially ended after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD [11]. The following three years marked the final stages of defeat, culiminated in the siege of Masada in 73 AD. Jerusalem was destroyed and garrisoned by the Legio X Fretensis. The province became a praetorian province administrated by a praetorian legate[12].

[9] GICHON & APPLEBAUM 1967: 7.
[10] GICHON & APPLEBAUM 1967: 8.
[11] SAFRAI 1994: 22.
[12] SAFRAI 1994: 23.

Jerusalem remained under the guardianship of the Legio X Fretensis for the following sixty years. Jewish and Christian groups came to Jerusalem to try to start a new life. Until the reign of Hadrian and his declaration to rebuild Jerusalem, there were no significant changes in the city. The Central Highlands underwent a major change with the third Jewish revolt (the Bar Kochba War). The conflict ended with the siege of Battir (Betar) in 135 AD[13]. The Jewish population of the province was either enslaved, expelled, or chose to leave before the Romans arrived. Galilee and the cities of the eastern Mediterranean coastal towns became new centers of Jewish culture and learning. The province itself was renamed Syria-Palestina and became a consular province[14].

The Severan period brought development and renewal to the province. The cities of Diospolis, Eleutheropolis and Nicopolis flourished at the turn of the 2nd century AD. The regions of Bashan and Huaran also benefitted from the prosperity that the Syria-Palaestina province enjoyed, until the crisis of the 3rd century[15].

IV. PRESENCE OF ROMAN LEGIONS IN THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS

Archaeological evidence does not provide an exact figure to the number of Roman legions stationed in the central highlands, nor to the number of auxiliary units in Palestine. From the time of Herod, the Great, only one garrison of six auxiliary units is known to have been in the area. This is confirmed by epigraphic material[16]. No Roman legions were in Palestine before the first revolt in 70 AD. One of the six auxiliary units was a cavalry regiment from Sebastia, Ala I Sebastenorum. The other five were infantry units, one of which was from Sebastia, Cohors I Sebastenorum. The Sebastia units were created by Herod the Great by recruiting inhabitants from Samaria and Sebastia[17]. Due to the antagonism between the Jewish and Sebastia communities, Sebastia soldiers were used to control the rebellious Jewish population. After Herod the Great's death in 4 BC, most of the army supported the Romans, including the 3,000 Sebasteni from the one *ala* and five *cohortes*[18]. The rest of the auxiliary forces may have been formed or replenished in Palestine. The first Roman legion stationed in Palestine was the Legio X Fretensis. This legion was stationed in Jerusalem after 70 AD and was the main legion in the region until it was transferred to Elat during Diocletian's reign (244-311 AD)[19]. The second legion to be stationed in Palestine was probably the Legio VI Ferrata, which was stationed in Modern Lajjun near Megiddo[20]. The site of the camp believed to be at Legio was excavated and surveyed by various scholars, but no trace of a camp large enough

[13] SAFRAI 1994: 22; LEWIN 2005: 33.
[14] GICHON & APPLEBAUM 1967: 11.
[15] DEBATABLE & BAR 2002: 43-54.
[16] SPEIDEL 1992: 224, 234.
[17] LE BOHEC 2004 : 129.
[18] SPEIDEL 1992 : 224, 234.
[19] GEVA 1984 : 239-254.
[20] LE BOHEC 2004 : 241.

to house an entire legion was found[21]. The legions remained stationed in Palestine until the time of Diocletian when major changes took place on the eastern frontier.

One major concern of the Roman army in the highlands of Palestine was the *Limes Palaestinae*, a subject studied by the scholar Mordechai Gichon. This defensive system comprised of a chain of fortifications from Gaza to Ein Geddi[22]. The limes would have played a significant part in the defenses of the region, but its existence is disputed among scholars[23].

V. KHIRBET AL-KILYA SITE HISTORY

Early Byzantine Period (4th-5th Centuries AD)

The fort at Khirbet al-Kilya was built either at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century. It overlooked the Roman road from the Jordan Valley to Jericho. The primary purpose of the fort was to provide security for the road and the eastern wall of the valley. The two-storey structure, with 130 cm-thick walls and measuring 20.7m in length, was one of two defensive structures protecting the area. A Roman tower on the other side of Wadi Wahidah also served as a defensive monument.

In 1990, Y. Magen observed that the late Roman forts in the central highlands of Palestine shared common characteristics. They were not erected as defensive structures but as military bases for soldiers patrolling the main roads and borders. Therefore, they lacked towers. They were all located on hilltops above riverbeds, overlooking Roman roads, and were at a distance from farms and towns. They were expertly built using high-quality materials,[24] to deter Palestinian rebellions and better control the conquered peoples therein.

Byzantine Period(6th-7th Centuries AD)

The fort at Khirbet al-Kilya was abandoned at the end of the 5th century, and was converted into a cenobite (communal) monastery in the 6th century when the structure was rebuilt using the structural remains. Other Roman forts in the central highlands, such as Khirbet Dair Sam'an and Khirbet Dair Qal'a were converted in the same way **[FIGURE 1].** A chapel, farm buildings, and additional rooms were added in the process of adapting the fort to its new usage. Community life with a daily routine was an alternative to eremitic life, which could endanger mental health. There was a great increase in the number of these communal monastery settlements in the area during this period due to the growth of Christian monks inhabiting Jersualem's the desert area: approximately sixty monasteries were established to accommodate 10,000-30,000 monks[25]. However, the monastery at Khirbet al-Kilya was deserted during the early Islamic period (638-1099 AD)[26].

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[21] TEPPER 2002: 231-237.

[22] GICHON 1978: 1-320.

[23] JANCZEWSKI 2019: 123-127.

[24] MAGEN 1990: 321-332 & 2012: 261-296.

[25] Further information, please read the following link: «Byzantine Monks of the Judean Desert», www.biblewalks.com/ByzantineMonks, Accessed on (26/ 06/ 2024).

[26] MAGEN 1990: 321-332.

Nineteenth-Century Exploration and Surveying

Between 1866 and 1877, Khirbet al-Kilya was surveyed by Wilson, Conder and Kitchener on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Foundation (PEF). However, the archaeological significance of the site was not recognized, and the survey report recorded the structures as homestead ruins[27]. The survey map shows the ruins of Khirbet al-Kilya above the deep gorge of Wadi Dair Jerir **[FIGURE 2]**. On the other side of the gorge, the ruins of a Byzantine monastery are seen at el Kusr.

A Roman road was located two kilometres south of Wadi et Taiyibeh (named after the Arab village three kilometres to the west). In 1948, the road was given the name Tariq Abu George and was paved over by the Jordanian Army. It connects Ramallah and Jerusalem to Jericho and is still in use.

Modern Period

In 1967, the local territory on which the Khirbet al-Kilya site is located was seized from the Jordanians by the Israeli army and, in 1977, a Nahal settlement was established near the monastery ruin. A Nahal settlement is one created by the paramilitary Israeli Force that combines military service and farming. A large number of these Nahal bases were later converted into housing for civilians. In 1980, twenty-five civilian families were the first to form a community in a Nahal settlement and called it Rimmonim, in reference to the biblical rock of Rimmon. The international community considers Israeli settlements in the West Bank illegal under international law[28]. In 1990, an archaeological team, headed by Y Magen, archaeology staff officer of the region, carried out excavations at the site. The findings from these excavations are the main source of information on the site. The following description of the fort (later monastery) complex at the site, is based on Magen's 1990 account.

VI. DESCRIPTION OF STRUCTURAL REMAINS[29]

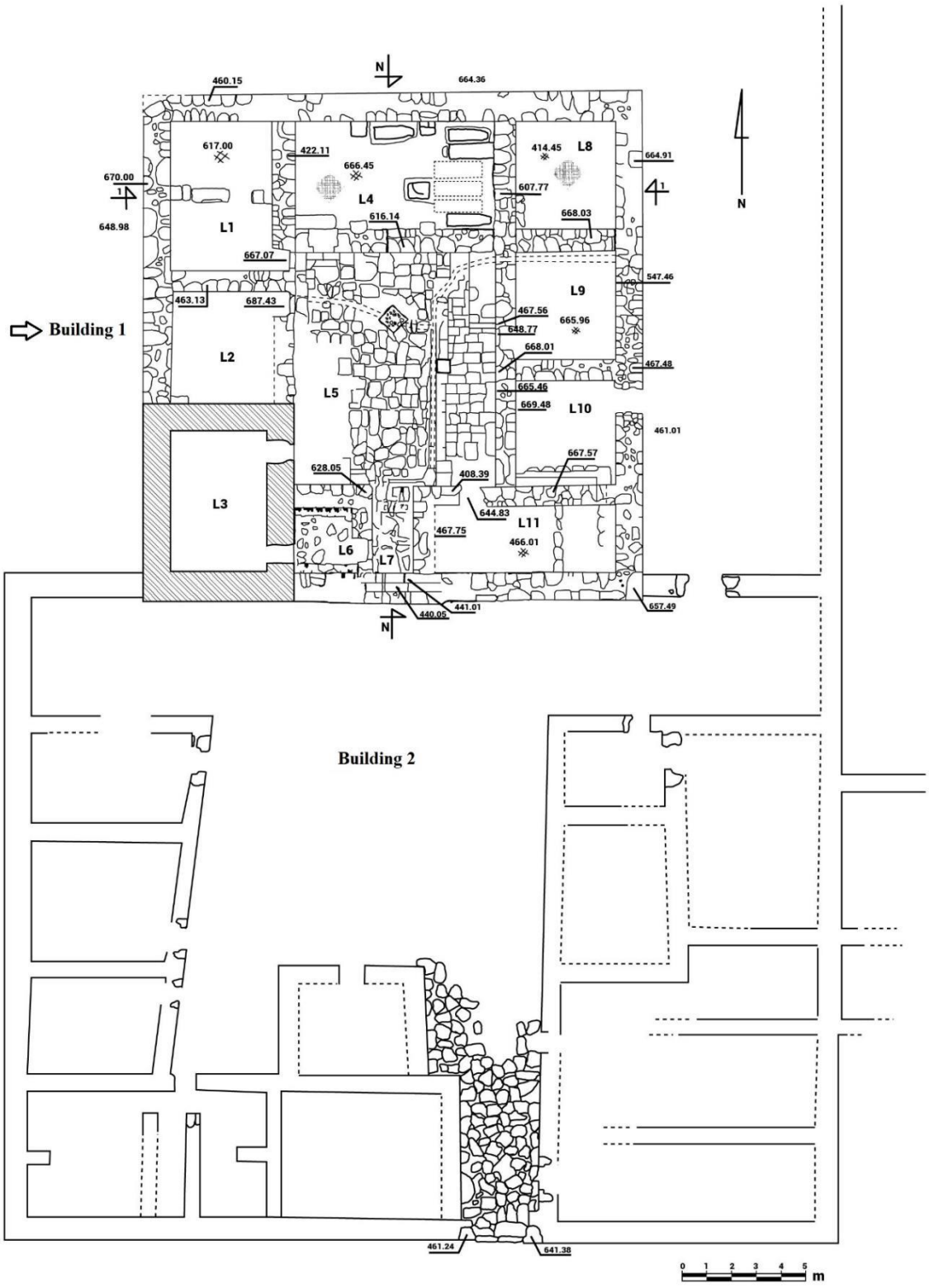
The overall structure of the monastery complex at Khirbet al-Kilya consists of two annexed buildings, labelled Buildings 1 and 2, and an exterior courtyard. The two buildings are from the Byzantine period. Building 1, built with large ashlars and walls up to 1.3m thick is smaller than Building 2. Building 2 is built with small ashlars and the walls are 0.7 m thick. The inner courtyard of Building 1 is mainly paved with regular, well-fitted flagstones while those of Building 2 are irregular in shape. The rooms in Building 1 are small, while those in Building 2 are larger and rectangular, with some being long and narrow. Building 1 has an upper story, but there is no evidence of a second story in Building 2. There is no staircase and the walls are not thick enough to support an upper story. There is an additional fortifying wall surrounding the northern and eastern sides of Building 1. Building 2 does not have additional fortification. Indications are that Building 1 was the principal building and that Building 2 was an

[27] CONDER & KITCHENER 1881–1883: vol.2, sheet 15: 395.

[28] «The Geneva Convention», BBC News, (10/ 12/ 2009), retrieved (27/11 /2010).

[29] All the description of the architectural discoveries were obtained from the publication reports of Magen 1990 & 2012.

auxiliary service building, which included living quarters, storage areas and facilities for housing animals. **[FIGURES 4 & 5].**



[FIGURE 4]: Top plan of the architecture of the site of Khirbet al-Kilya. MAGEN 2012: FIG.2, 262.

[FIGURE 5]: General views of Khirbet al-Kilya © https://www.biblewalks.com/kilya, accessed on (16/ 02/ 2024).

Building 1

Building 1 is located in the northern part of the building complex, and consists of several rooms surrounding an inner courtyard. The footprint of the building is an exact square, with each wall measuring 20.7 m. A fortified wall encloses a large courtyard on the northern and eastern sides. The entrance to Building 1 is on the southern side through Building 2. The rooms, without interconnecting doorways, are accessed from the inner flagstone courtyard. The straight walls are built of large, crudely hewn ashlars with a central boss. The exterior walls are built of two layers of stone, with small stones between them, creating an overall thickness of up to 1.3 m. Partially preserved white plaster coats the mainly dry-built, walls (without mortar or Roman concrete) of the interior. The rooms, including the inner courtyard and the burial chamber, are labelled from L1 to L11. They are divided into the Western, Northern and Eastern sections.

Inner Courtyard: L5

The 9.4 x 8.4 m courtyard is paved with hewn flagstones. Slightly north of the center of the courtyard, there is the opening to a large cistern, which is over 10m deep. The bell-shaped cistern is hewn into the courtyard floor and is thickly covered in whitish-pink plaster that is unlike the reddish-coloured plaster of the Byzantine-Arab period. Water flowed from roof gutters into a small settling pool, from where it ran along two channels into the cistern. The channels are covered with irregular stone slabs: one of them runs from the south-west and the other from the west. Two additional channels running eastward drained excess water from the courtyard to prevent flooding. The paving in the eastern part of the courtyard is well-fitted and a row of stones forming a type of stylobate may have supported a colonnaded porch. A 0.9m wide and 3.5 high staircase, built of low-grade stone, is at the north-eastern corner of the courtyard. The staircase leads from the ground level to an upper storey. Six arched pillars that support the second storey were found on the ground level. Four of the pillars, measuring 1.05 x 0.58 m, are close to the walls, and two square pillars, with sides measuring 58 cm, are centrally located. The arches run north-south. A number of dressed archstones were found in the excavated area. It is clear that the hard limestone pillars are a later addition because they are on top of the paving stones. A small passageway is located off the courtyard leading to an entrance in the southern wall, and measures 3.55 x 1 m (L7). The passageway is formed by building room L-6 to the west.

Room: L-6

Room L6 was built to support pillars for the upper story.

Passageway: L7

Passageway L7, runs southward from the courtyard to a 1.1m wide doorway in the south wall, which is 1.2 m high today. The doorway forms an entrance to the building. There would have been a wooden door, and additional security was ensured by a 0.32 m thick circular rolling stone made of soft limestone. The area around the doorway was strengthened with very large stones when the rolling stone was installed. The rolling stone appears to have been added in the second construction phase.

Western Section

Room L1

Measuring 6.2 x 4.2m, Room L1 is in the northwestern corner of the structure. The outer walls have been preserved at a height of 2.5 m. The floor consists of a layer of small stones covered in white plaster. Two square pillars, built against the longitudinal walls, supported arches. In the western wall, there is a small settling pool into which the water from the gutters flowed. Water ran from the settling pool via a covered channel that passed under the threshold into the inner courtyard. The channel belongs to the second construction phase. The well-preserved doorway to the room is located at one end of the room, as in the case of the other rooms. A lintel stone, with an indentation for a wooden lintel, was found in the middle of the room. The doorway has six bolt sockets.

Room L2

Room L2 is a square, with each side measuring 4.2 m. It has not yet been excavated. The entrance is located at one end of the room and there are sockets in the door frame. A hewn channel, plastered over and covered with stone slabs, runs from the room to the cistern in the inner courtyard.

Room L3

The interior arches and pottery found in Room L-3 (5.6 x 3.4 m) indicate that the upper part of the walls was rebuilt in either the Mameluke or Ottoman period, with two building phases plainly seen. The room had two doorways along the eastern wall, one at each extremity, but the southernly one was closed off by Room L-6's construction during the second construction phase. The rebuilding seems to have destroyed earlier structural elements.

Northern Section

Room L4: Burial Chamber

Room L4 is a long rectangular room (8.4 x 4.4 m) and served as a burial chamber with a partially underground crypt. The mosaic floor of large tesserae consists of white with inlaid red and black crosses. One entrance, with a width of 1.2 m, is found halfway along the wall on the courtyard side. The doorway could not be closed and the threshold was unfinished. Another entrance, found on the western wall, was preserved to a height of 1.8m and width of 0.9 m. There is a step up to this entrance, which would have been the original entrance to the room. It was built near a corner and has a bolt socket for closure, as in the case of the doorways to all the other rooms. Four pillars adjoining the northern and southern walls would have supported the upper story.

Five tombs covered with stone slabs were found underneath the mosaic floor. Four were hewn into the rock, and one was partly hewn and constructed above floor level in the centre of the room. There were a number of skeletons found in the graves. There is a large trough-like tomb, containing four skeletons, positioned with their heads facing east, are centered along the northern wall. It measures 2 x 0.7 m and may have been used as a water basin during the first phase of use. The tomb was covered with stone slabs, leaving an air vent in the middle. There are two more tombs on the eastern side of the room. One, resembling a sarcophagus, is hewn from a single stone and measures 1.9 x 0.7 cm. The single stone forming the lid has a recessed hole for ventilation in the centre. The inner side of the stone lid is engraved with a large cross, centrally positioned. The second tomb, lying alongside the first, has the same dimensions. The tomb and lid, which includes a ventilation hole, are made of flagstones that have been plastered over. The fourth tomb, also consisting of plastered flagstones, is located near the doorway to Room L-8, on the eastern side. The lid, composed of flat stones, has a ventilation hole in the centre and the heads of the skeletons are positioned to the east. The fifth tomb is near the centre of the room, and is partly below ground level, with the lower part hewn from the bedrock. The crypt-style tomb is accessed with downward steps. It measures 3.86 x 2.6 x 1.6 m. The entrance lid is a square stone slab, with a central hole for ventilation. The interior is divided by low walls into two troughs,

each measuring 2.15 x 0.6 m. They are covered with a stone slab with a hole for ventilation. The ceiling is barrel-vaulted. Fifteen skeletons were found in the two troughs, as were a quantity of small items, such as ceramic lamps, glass artifacts and some bronze tools. There is no doubt that the room served as a burial chamber for the monastery. All the tombs were covered with mosaics that needed to be removed for reopening, except for the crypt-style tomb that could easily be reopened.

Room L8

The dimensions of Room L8 are 4.4 m x 4 m. It is located in the north-eastern corner of the monastery complex and can only be entered through Room L4, the burial chamber. Room L8 is the only room not directly accessed from the inner courtyard. The mosaic floor in the room is composed of white tesserae, similar to that of the burial chamber. It is probable that there are tombs underneath the floor, but the room was not excavated to preserve the floor. The plaster in the room, consisting of three layers, is well preserved; the second layer is embedded with small stones. It clearly dates to the Byzantine period when the stones were recoated.

Eastern Section

Room L9

Room L9 measures 4.4 x 4 m and is accessed from the inner courtyard through a strongly constructed doorway with three-bolt sockets. The floor, coated with a thick layer of plaster, is set lower than the floor of the inner courtyard. A channel covered with stone slabs runs along the northern wall of the room, which is preserved to a height of 2.2 m, Due to the lower level of the room, the channel would have drained excess water away from the cistern through the room to the outer courtyard. The room is accessed from the inner courtyard by a doorway that would have supported a bolted door. A doorway was later added on the eastern wall.

Room L10

Room L10, which has the same dimensions as Room L9, is accessed through a doorway near the northern wall. The doorway would have been able to support a bolted door. An eastern doorway was added later. Near the south wall, there is a plastered, hewn channel that drained excess water from the inner courtyard to beyond the monastery boundary. The channel seems to have been abandoned during the second construction phase.

Room L11

Room L11 is a long rectangular room measuring 7.5 x 2.6 m. A doorway with bolt sockets, preserved to a height of 1.7 m, opens onto the inner courtyard. The floor is coated with a thick layer of white plaster and there is a north-south partition across the middle of the room. When the rolling stone was installed, alterations were made to the southern wall of the room near the southern entrance to the building.

Building 2

As only a small part of the structure has been unearthed, the exact layout and usage of Building 2 is yet to be determined. The northern wall of the 33.6 x 26.7 m structure adjoins the south wall of Building 1. The eastern wall of Building 2 extends northward beyond the building, forming a fortifying wall for part of Building 1, together with the large courtyard on the eastern and northern sides. The building also has an inner courtyard paved with large, irregular flagstones. A 2.2 m wide double gateway to the courtyard on the southern wall provides access to the building. There are structural remains outside the gateway that may have been a gatekeeper's hut. On the inner side of this entranceway, there are two arch-bearing pillars. These suggest part of the passageway (10 x 4.6 m), leading from the entranceway to the inner courtyard, was roofed.

The eastern section of the building consists of five rectangular rooms of various sizes and orientations measuring 10 x 2.7 or 10 x 3.7 m. They are accessed on the western side through the inner courtyard. They have not been excavated and their purpose is not clear, but their long, narrow shape indicates they may have been used as stables or storerooms. However, it is clear that they were part of the later construction phases. There may have been an entryway to the monastery on the eastern wall of Building 1 in the north-eastern corner where there is a flag-stoned passageway to the central courtyard.

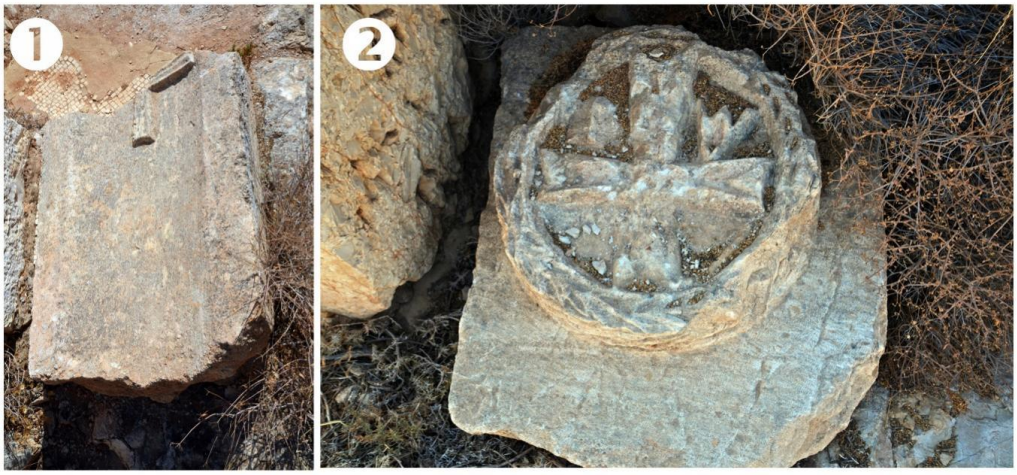
Along the southern wall of the building, west of the main entrance, three identical square rooms are found, all with the walls measuring 4.4 m. Inward from the western wall, there is a row of rectangular rooms, opening onto the inner courtyard. Some of these are from the second construction phase and others are from the third. Additional rooms from the latest construction phase adjoin the eastern and western sides of the building.

Small Finds: Pottery, Coins & Artifacts

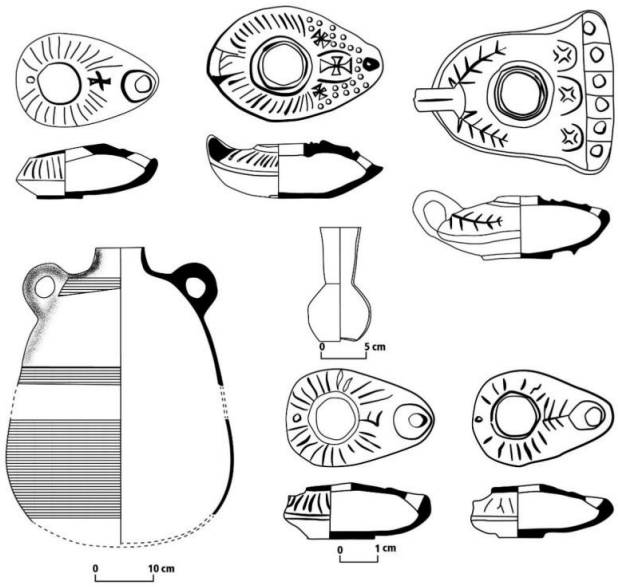
The site yielded only a modest number of small archaeological finds **[FIGURES 6 & 7]**. Large-scale destruction and looting of valuable artifacts had taken place during various periods after the site was built. The excavated pottery assemblage belongs to four periods, as follows: Late Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic and Late Islamic.

Among the finds are vessels decorated with the roulette technique, which belong to the Late Roman period. However, the majority of the pottery found dates to the Byzantine period and were found in the crypt of the burial chamber **[FIGURE 5]**. It comprises of jars, bowls, cooking pots, jugs and juglets, as well as amphorae that have parallels to those found at Tell Sufan and Bir al-Hamam in Nablus. Additionally, eight lamps, some of which are decorated with crosses, and one lamp with six mouths, and decorated with crosses and two palm branches, were found. The lamps date to the 6th and 7th centuries AD. The early Islamic pottery is Omayyad like those from Khirbet el-Mefjar. The pottery is white ware, featuring lamps, and adorned with intricate plant and animal motifs. Late Islamic pottery is from the Mameluke and Ottoman periods. The pottery finds clearly demonstrate that the site was occupied before the Byzantine

period[30]. Non-pottery finds included an entire glass vessel found in the crypt, coins and a few metal artifacts such as keys, a needle, a bronze arrowhead, and an iron grinding tool. The coins were the most significant finds due to being dated to the different construction phases identified. One coin was dated 31 AD, and is from the governorship of Pontius Pilate. There was also an imperial coin from Ascalon, dating to either the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD, a late Roman period coin, three coins that each dated to the reigns of Arcadius (395-408 AD), Honorius (395-423 AD) and Theodosius II (408-450 AD). The remaining coins have not been identified but may date to the 5th century AD. Few loose structural remains were found, but those that were indicate that a church was once at the site. These architectural finds include two Byzantine-style capitals, a column base, arch stones and three marble chancel-pillars. Most of the construction elements from the upper storey seem to have been looted.



[FIGURE 6]: 1. Part of broken sarcophagus; 2. Remains of an architectural cross. MAGEN 1990. FIG.3, 331.



[FIGURE 7]: Pottery and lamps from Khirbet al-Kilya. MAGEN 1990: FIG.4, 332.

[30] ABU ALSAUD 2018: 187.

VII. DISCUSSION

The most recent stage of occupation at the site was during the Mameluke-Ottoman period when Room L3 was rebuilt. Bearing in mind the lowest course of the new structure, indications are that the former structure was largely destroyed by then. one does not know how the site functioned during this period, but it may have been used by herders. The circular enclosures on the site and the rich Omayyad pottery finds indicate that a livestock (sheep and goats) was kept and that a farm was probably built on the site during this period. The large cisterns and the location of the site, near the main route from the Jordan Valley westward, would have attracted settlers.

When excavations began, the building was thought to have been erected as a monastery. The discovery of the burial chamber with Christian crosses and chancel-pillars, which would have belonged to a church, was evidence that a monastery had stood on the site during the Byzantine period. But the question also arose as to whether the monastery had been converted from a former Roman structure. Other ceramic and numismatic finds, dating prior to the Byzantine period, indicate that a Roman settlement occupied the site during the 3rd and 4th centuries. It is not clear whether the coin from the time of Pontius Pilatus was brought to the site or whether there was a structure on the site at that time. However, it is possible that the site was in use during the Middle Roman Period (70-135 AD). Although the small finds indicate the presence of a Roman structure, the most significant evidence is found in the architectural design and techniques used for the structural remains. The different construction phases and the layout of the complex are consistent with what is typical of a Roman frontier fort.

The floor plan of the monastery is unlike that of other Byzantine monasteries in the Jerusalem Desert and elsewhere, showing no similarity to any other known monastery. Furthermore, the characteristic elements of a Byzantine monastery are not found in either Building 1 or Building 2. The overall layout, typical of the Roman frontier fort, consists of a fortified structure and tower, as in the case of Building 1, and a service building, as in the case of Building 2. The differences are shown in the architectural design that is comparable to other Byzantine monasteries. These are shown in the dimensions and laying pattern of the dressed ashlar stones, in the accuracy of the measurements of the dimensions of the rooms, in the straight alignment of the walls, and in the use of exact right angles. Other aspects that indicate a former Roman fort are the thickness of the building 1 walls, the location of the doorways to the rectangular rooms at the extremities, the large number of bolt sockets in the door frames, the type of white plaster used to line the cistern, which differs from that used during the Byzantine period, and the adherence to set building designs and techniques. There are indications that the structure was erected by an agent of the state who was knowledgeable of standardized building practices; this person used accurately laid out plans.

In converting the remains of the fort to a Byzantine monastery, changes were needed to provide for religious needs, such as a church and a burial chamber. However, the monks do not seem to have modified the original layout of the earlier structure. Room L4 was converted into the burial chamber by moving the entryway and installing

a mosaic floor. An upper level was created for the church, since the floor plan of the old fort did not fit the needs for a church. Building the upper level involved building a roof over the previously open inner courtyard, building stone arch supports in the ground-level rooms, and building a staircase for access to the upper story. Gutters were built on the church roof and channels were created in the courtyard to drain the rainwater from the gutters into the cistern. Nevertheless, the floor plan of the ground floor building does not indicate the exact location of the church on the upper level. It may have been built above the northern section adjoining the inner courtyard. The only remains of the church were the chancel pillars, two capitals, and a column base, as mentioned. A round stone, engraved with a cross, which was found in the burial chamber, may have belonged to the church. Building the church on an upper story provided a view over the wadi and surrounding landscape.

The fort at Khirbet al-Kilya is not unique in being converted into a monastery during the Byzantine period. The foremost examples of others are the monasteries built on the remains of early Roman period Herodian forts, such as at Masada, Hyrcania, Herodium, Dok, Cypros and Nuseib «Uweishira». Monastic settlements in secluded, desert locations, and on the fringes of existing settlements, meant that the ruins of former forts were converted into monasteries. The remains of forts and buildings were used by the Roman army along the main roads. The limes were converted into monasteries. Finding monastic settlements among the fort ruins located on the limes is also common in Syria. Rulers seem to have been favorable to monks settling along borders and vulnerable inland transportation routes, which are isolated areas.

Large-scale research is not needed to understand the importance of the structure at Khirbet al-Kilya during the Roman period. It should be mentioned that a similar structure, El-Qasr-the fort, was found in the Wahida Valle. It is smaller (18 x 14.3 m) and is built with large ashlars, similar to those found at Khirbet al-Kilya. It has a fortified tower with thick walls and an adjacent courtyard. The fort overlooks the Roman route from Jericho to Taibya, and the Khirbet al-Kilya site is clearly seen from it. These two structures probably form part of a chain of Roman forts, monitoring the route from the Jordan Valley westward towards Jerusalem. It is also possible that one of these routes passed along the wadi between the two sites.

VIII. CONCLUSION

This study shows that the chronological sequence of the site dates from the early and middle Roman period. A coin from the time of Pontius Pilatus found at the site, either brought there or in use there, leads to the conjecture that the site may have been used in the Middle Roman period (70-135 AD). Evidence of a Roman structure, particularly a fort, is found in the structural elements and techniques, the layout of the complex and the different construction phases. A number of small finds corroborate the Roman presence. There are indications that construction of the Khirbet al-Kilya fort began in the late 4th or early 5th century, and that it ceased to be used in the late 5th century.and The fort was converted into a monastery in the 6th century AD.

The pottery finds mainly date to the Byzantine period when the monastery occupied the site. Descriptions of the buildings are based on the work of Y Magen who

excavated at the site in the 1980s. The Byzantine monastery was later abandoned but seems to have been somewhat occupied during the early Islamic period (638-1099 AD). The construction phase demonstrated by the building of Room L3 shows that the latest occupation of the site seems to have been during the Mameluke-Ottoman period and that the earlier structure had mainly been destroyed. At that time, herders may have used the site, and a farm for livestock and agriculture may have been built there.

Now, in the modern period, Palestinians are denied access to the Khirbet al-Kilya area, although all other communities have access. Consequently, Palestinian archaeologists are prevented from carrying out research or excavations at the site. Rimonim, an Israeli settlement, was established in 1977 after the Israeli military takeover of the site in 1967. Israel's construction of this settlement, which occurred in 1970, is believed by the international community to be illegal under international law.

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DRUNKENNESS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE ACCORDING TO ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEXTS AND SCENES

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **السُّكْرُ ومظاهره فى ضوء النصوص والمناظر المصرية القديمة**

كانت عادة «السُّكْرُ» معروفة فى مصر القديمة، بل نستطيع القول إنها كانت مقبولة ومطلوبة فى كثير من المناسبات والشعائر الدينية. كان للسُّكْرُ مظاهر إيجابية وسلبية، فكان من شأنه أن يجلب المتعة لصاحبه، وكذلك كان وسيلة للتواصل مع الآلهة والأموات، بل اعتبر المصرى القديم السُّكْرُ امتيازًا مقدسًا، وعلامة على الإخلاص، ليس لأنه يوفر المتعة فحسب، بل لأنه يؤدي إلى حالة حدودية تسمح للحي بالتواصل مع الموتى والدخول إلى عالم الآلهة. وهذا ما تدل عليه مناظر الأعياد والمآدب، وكذلك مواكب الدفن. من جانب آخر وصفت النصوص الأدبية والتعاليم السكير بالعديد من الصفات الذميمة من باب التحذير منه. فوصف بأنه عنيف، فظ الحديث، لا يدرك اقواله وافعاله، يفتقد للوعى والتفكير والأصدقاء، ويصبح عاجزا كالطفل الصغير. تهدف هذه المقالة إلى دراسة مصطلح « السُّكْرُ »، واستعراض المظاهر الإيجابية والسلبية لعادة السُّكْرُ فى مصر القديمة ودورها فى إبراز التوازن فى الفكر المصرى القديم وأخيرا، إلقاء الضوء على الآثار الجسدية لعادة السُّكْرُ.

[EN] Drunkenness was common in Ancient Egypt. It was even considered acceptable and required in many occasions and religious rituals. Drunkenness had both positive and negative aspects. It was pleasurable while also serving as a method of communication with deities and the deceased. The Ancient Egyptians saw drunkenness as a sacred privilege and a sign of sincerity, not only because it provides pleasure, but also because it leads to a borderline state in which the living can communicate with the dead and enter the realm of the gods. Scenes of feasts and banquets, as well as burial processions, attest to this. On the other hand, literary texts and teachings described the drunkard as having many repulsive characteristics, which served as a warning against drunkenness. A drunkard was described as violent, rude in his speech, oblivious to his own words and actions, lacking consciousness, thinking, and becoming helpless like a small child. The goal of this paper is to investigate the term "drunkenness", highlighting the positive and negative aspects of the habit of drunkenness in Ancient Egypt, as well as its role in highlighting the balance in Ancient Egyptian thought. Finally this paper sheds light on the physical effects of the habit of drunkenness.

KEYWORDS: Alcohol abuse, Beer, Drunkenness, Sleep, Unconsciousness, Vomiting, Wine.

I. INTRODUCTION

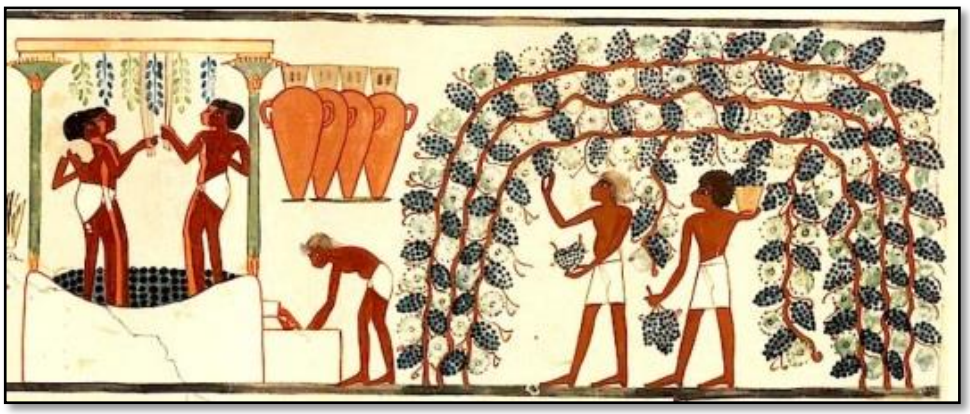
Before becoming a widely consumed alcoholic beverage, wine was a drink reserved for the upper class, only served to the public at major festivals, and in great quantities[1]. It was, nevertheless, increasingly made available to the lower classes in their daily lives. As the demand for it grew, so did the number of cultivated terrains. Wine production in the Delta can be traced back to at least the fourth millennium BC. It is believed that grapevine cuttings from Palestine were transported to the region during that time. The rulers during the Predynastic and early dynastic Periods (c. 3300-2700 BC) had access to wine from this area. Since the Predynastic Period (4000-3100 BC), wine jars have been placed in Egyptian tombs as funerary offerings. Large jars from the first and second dynasties, like the Canaanite jar type, had clay seals with hieroglyphics bearing the names of the kings, possibly the vineyard or estate, and its contents, such as wine. Additionally, wine was also imported from Palestine[2]. In the New Kingdom, Egypt had developed a large-scale wine industry – mostly for the upper social classes – with sophisticated and advanced technology and widespread development of several sorts of wine, classed under various names[3].

Ancient Egyptian private tombs feature reliefs and paintings that illustrate various stages of viticulture and winemaking. These include depictions of grape harvesting, treading, pressing, fermentation, sealing and labeling the jars, and ultimately storing them in cellars[4].

In a tomb from Dair al-Bersheh, which dates to the Middle Kingdom (1975-1640 BC), there is a depiction of winemaking, but it has been suggested that this tomb may depict the production of white wine. The reason behind this speculation is that the pressing scene immediately follows the grape harvesting scene, and the grapes in the harvesting scene appear to have a greenish color[5]. The accuracy or authenticity of the shedeh depicted in the scenes is uncertain. However, there is a single reference, found in Baquet III's tomb (Nrº.15) located in Beni Hassan, that might suggest a possible filtering and heating process involved in winemaking[6].

Additionally, there is a New Kingdom scene from the tomb of Nakht at Thebes, which provides a vivid portrayal of both the grape harvest and the winemaking process.[7] In the scene, two workers are shown carefully picking red grapes by hand and placing them in baskets on the right side. On the left, four men press the grapes in a vat using their feet, while another man collects the resulting red juice **[FIGURE 1].**

[1] GELLER 1992:19-26; LESKO 1996: 219; JAMES 2003: 204; KHAKHOLARY 2020: 1438.
[2] DREYER 1993: 23–62; MCGOVERN 1997: 90.
[3] KAMAL 1967: 498; HELCK 1971:104, 114-115; MCGOVERN 1997: 89.
[4] MURRAY et Al. 2000: 577–608; GUASCH-JANÉ 2008: 11, 29–30, 53–54, 56–59.
[5] MONTET 1913: 117–18; MURRAY et Al. 2000: 577–608.
[6] GELLER 1992: 19- 26; TALLET 1995: 459–92.
[7] DAVIES & GARDINER 1915: PL.26; GELLER 1992: 19- 26.



[FIGURE 1]: Wall painting of men making wine from the Tomb of Nakht, 18th dynasty (1479 –1420 BC). DAVIES 1917: PL.26

In the New Kingdom (1539-1075 BC), amphorae, the containers for wine, were inscribed with various textual details. The inscriptions included the year, the name of the product (*ỉrp* or *shedeh*), information about the quality of the wine, its provenance, whether it was for royal or private use, and the name and title of the wine-maker. These inscriptions, written in hieratic, provided valuable information about the wine and its significance in Ancient Egyptian culture and rituals[8]. «Year 4, wine from the Estate of Aten, in the Western River, chief vintner Nen» is written on an amphora from Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62) in Thebes[9]. The inscriptions on the amphorae demonstrate that the Ancient Egyptians valued this information because it allowed them to distinguish between wines. Knowing the product's vintage and provenance was essential to them.

The significance of the red color[10] of Egyptian wine extended beyond its association with the god Osiris's blood. It was also connected to the reddish hue of the River Nile during its annual flood, which carried iron-rich sediments from the Ethiopian mountains when the grape harvest commenced[11]. However, both red and white wines were discovered in Tutankhamon's tomb. Khaa, a vintner from the Western River Estate, was responsible for both of these wines. The red wine was «Year 9, Wine of the Estate of Aten of the Western River, Chief Vintner Khaa» (JE 62314), while the white wine was «Year 5, Wine of the Estate of Tutankhamun, Ruler of Thebes in the Western River, Chief Vintner Khaa» (JE 62316). Tutanhamun had a third type, the *šdḥ* shedeh, as well (JE 62315)[12].

It is hardly an exaggeration to claim that beer played a crucial role in Ancient Egyptian civilization. Beer was a popular drink among both adults and children, and it was a staple of both the poor and wealthy Egyptian diets. Additionally, beer was frequently offered to the gods, and it was mentioned in the ritual offering formula[13]. There is some indication that Ancient Egyptian beer was not as highly intoxicating as

[8] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.): *Wb* 1926: vol.1, 115.
[9] CERNY 1965: 1–4; GELLER 1992: 19-26.
[10] AL-RASHIDI 2004: 39.
[11] *POO* 1986: 149–51; *POO* 1995: 1186–90.
[12] HELCK 1971:104,114-115; GUASCH-JANÉ 2011: 851–58.
[13] *POO* 1995: 5-7; *POO* 2010: 1-4.

today's beer. Instead, it was filling, thick, and sweet. On the other hand, during the festivals of Bast, Sekhmet, and Hathor, worshippers would consume significant amounts of beer, leading to noticeable intoxication. This suggests that beer, like Egyptian wine, could be equally potent in terms of its intoxicating effects[14].

Wine and beer were frequently used in medical and pharmaceutical purposes, along with honey and oil, which were believed to be a remedy for almost every ailment. They were valued for their properties as anaesthetics, or pain-relievers, stimulants, antiseptics to cleanse and heal wounds, emetics, digestion regulators, purifiers, and antidotes against poisonous plants, bites, and stings[15].

According to STROUHAL et Al. beer has also been used medicinally, either as the treatment itself or as part of a mixture to improve the flavour of other medications. Medical papyri list 17 types of beer[16]. Wine was employed in practically all types of remedies. It was primarily used in orally administered medication, but was also described being used with enemas, bandages or poultices, *gs*-ointments or poultices. Wine is listed as a treatment for more than twenty diseases in Ancient Egyptian prescriptions[17].

Unlike wine, beer appears to have been consumed regularly by all Ancient Egyptians. It appears to have been widely produced and used in occasions such as festivities, offerings, and even sacrifices[18].

According to 18th dynasty tomb paintings, men oversaw wine manufacturing, whereas women were most likely in charge of beer production, which was a basic part of the Egyptian diet. Beer spoiled quickly and had to be made in a single batch just before use, whereas wine could be stored, transported, and traded for up to five years and used as a reliable product[19].

Beer and bread were viewed as ordinary foods, consumed by everyone, according to inscriptions in tombs and administrative documents in Ancient Egypt, with beer being defined as the 'national drink'[20]. A scene of sellers selling beer in a marketplace was discovered in the New Kingdom city of Akhetaten (1550-1170 BC)[21].

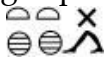
II. METHODOLOGY

This research paper examined the wisdom texts and the scenes of drunkenness. It studied the following:

- The term of *tḫt* 'drunkenness'.
- The positive aspects of drunkenness.
- The negative aspects of drunkenness.
- The physical effects of drunkenness.

[14] ROSSO 2010:238.
[15] HELCK 1971:104,114-115; GELLER 1992: 19-26; ROSSO 2010: 251.
[16] STROUHAL 1992: 18–25, 128.
[17] DEINES & GRAPOW 1959: 47–50; BLÁZOVICS & SÁRDI 2019: 461–65.
[18] GELLER 1992: 19- 26; KHAKHOLARY 2020: 14384.
[19] HELCK 1971: 104,114-115; JENNINGS et Al. 2005: 286, 295.
[20] DARBY, GALIOUNGUI & GRIVETTI.(eds.) 1977: 532.
[21] JAMES 1984: 252; GELLER 1992: 19- 26.

1.The Term of *tḫt* «Drunkenness»

The Egyptian word, *tḫt*[22] for 'intoxication' or 'drunkenness' is derived from the verb [23], , , *tḫi̯* [24], «to be drunk», 'to become intoxicated', 'drink deep' which is also the root of the words for a habitual drinker or drunkard, *tḫw*[25]. The verb originates from the *tḫ* root, which implies notions of descending rapidly, likely caused by the effects of alcohol[26]. It also provides us with the word,  *tḫtḫ*, meaning confused[27]. Other common terms related to intoxication include *nz ḥnḳt*, which means «drunkards»[28].

The Egyptian calendar contained a *hrw n tḫ* «day of drunkenness»[29]. *tḫ*[30] was a monthly festival, specifically on the twentieth day of the Thot month. The first month of the year, Thot, was originally referred to as *tḫy*, which referred to the «vintage-festival», or, «vine-festival», which marked the beginning of the Egyptian New Year[31].

The word *tḫ* «drinking to drunkenness» corresponds to the word *tḫ*/ *tḫn* «reins of the scales»[32]which was used as an epithet for *Thot* during the postpharaonic period: «who belongs to the reins of the scales» and which is also present in the name of his month, which could be referred to as «*tḫj*» starting in the 18th dynasty. There may also be a goddess named *Tekhi* (*tḫj*), whose name is taken from this name[33].

According to the temple inscription of Dendera, Hathor is referred to as *nb.t tḫ* «the mistress of intoxication»[34] or even, «the intoxicated one» .' *tḫy.t* is probably in connection with the myth of the destruction of mankind. Dendera's name and its temple was recorded as ,[35] *s.t-tḫn.t* 'the place of drunkenness[36]. A special part of Hathor's temple was named *ḥwt tḫ* 'the house of drunkenness[37].

Drunkenness appears to have been widespread in Egyptian society, affecting people from all walks of life. Herodotus and Athenaeus, while contemplating the

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[22] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 324; FAULKNER 1962: 301.
[23] ERMAN & GRAPOW(eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 323.
[24] LESKO 1989: 96; BRUNNER 1986: *LÄ* vol.6, 773-777.
[25] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 325; FAULKNER 1962: 301.
[26] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 324.
[27] LESKO 1989: 97; BRUNNER 1986: *LÄ* vol.6, 773-777.
[28] IVERSEN 1979: 84; LESKO 1989: 123.
[29] DUMICHEN 1869: 25, 51.
[30] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol. 5, 325: 18–20.
[31] LUTZ 1922: 107: BRUNNER 1986: *LÄ* vol.6, 773-777.
[32] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 326: 25- 27.
[33] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb,* vol.4, 325:19.
[34] CHASSINAT 1935: 8, 58; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 325:7-9.
[35] DUMICHEN 1865: 5,10; CHASSINAT 1935: 8, 82.
[36] DUMICHEN 1865: 57a.
[37] DUMICHEN 1865: 14; GELLER 1992: 19- 26.

cultural differences between Egyptians and Greeks regarding alcohol consumption, proposed an economic measure to discourage alcohol abuse: raising taxes[38].

In fact, abstaining from alcohol on one's own volition was exceptional, and it was considered to be a significant statement. As a sign of repentance, Tefnakhte, chieftain of Sais and later king and founder of the 24th dynasty, abstains from drinking on the stela of *Piya* during the Third Intermediate Period. Furthermore, some passages lament the period when a person is unable to drink owing to old age or death[39]. For example: in P. Insinger, when described old age, it says, that at that time: «*He who has passed sixty years, everything has passed for him. If his heart loves wine, he cannot drink to drunkenness*»[40].

The songs of harpists and lutists in the tomb of *Tjanefer*, TT 158, 20th dynasty, hint at a striking juxtaposition between the pleasure of alcohol consumption during banquets in life and the requirement for abstinence in the afterlife[41]: «*Their faces are ignorant [concerning] holiday; their hearts have forgotten drunkenness*»[42]. Similarly, funerary laments like one from Mose's tomb 137 also highlight the sobriety of the afterlife: «*He who liked to get drunk is now in a land without even water*»[43].

Excessive drinking was common in Egypt among all classes. According to a demotic papyrus, king Amasis of the 26th dynasty during the 8th-7th century BC, consumed copious amounts of alcohol at the royal palace, leading to constant intoxication and an inability to manage state affairs, which resulted in grievances among his entourage[44]. Rosso commented on this story by stating that «*It could be said, from a general perspective, that these kinds of vices might have contributed to the decline of the Egyptian Empire*»[45].

Throughout Egyptian history, priests, like the elite and high-ranking officials, drank wine on a regular basis. The inscription on the temple statue of *Nebnetjeru*, from the twenty-second dynasty Thebes, reads:

ỉr.n.ỉ ʿḥʿ.ỉ m nḏm-ỉb n(n) mḥ n(n) mnt sḫb.ỉ hrw.ỉ m ỉrp ʿntyw

«I spent my lifetime in happiness, without worry and without malady; I made festive my days with wine and myrrh»[46].

During their time at the temple, priests' lifestyles were regulated, and this most likely included rules around wine use. In his treaty concerning Isis and Osiris, Plutarch most likely transmits one such rule. He says in his note:

[38] EL-GUEBALY & EL-GUEBALY 1981: 1207–1221.
[39] SIMPSON 2002: 368; BRUNNER 1986: *LÄ* vol.6, 773-777.
[40] JOHNSON 1976: 151;LICHTHEIM 1980: 199; 1983: 52: 214.
[41] SEELE 1959: PL.28, BRUNNER 1986: *LÄ* vol.6, 773-777.
[42] PORTER & MOSS 1960: 268, 158; WENTE 1962: 126.
[43] LÜDDECKENS 1943: 134, Nrº.64; SWEENEY 2001: 44.
[44] «Story of a mariner»: Great demotic papyus of the Biblothèque Nationale de Paris, Ptolemaic Period, r. 11-12. MASPERO 1915: 280-286.
[45] ROSSO 2010: 81–87.
[46] LEGRAIN 1906: 60; OTTO 1954:136-139; LORTON 1968: 43; BRUNNER 1986: *LÄ* vol.6, 773-777.

«As for wine, those who serve the god in Heliopolis bring none at all into the shrine, since they feel that it is not seemly to drink in the daytime while their Lord and King are looking upon them. The others use wine, but in great moderation. They have many periods of holy living when wine is prohibited, and in these they spend their time exclusively in studying, learning, and teaching religious matters»[47].

Women, especially those from the upper classes, were urged to drink freely at banquets to 'not spoil the entertainment'[48]. Drunkenness was considered a «holy intoxication» in Ancient Egypt, and it was thought to be a way for women to connect to the gods through a new state of mind[49].

Egyptians had a strong penchant for beer and wine, and this drinking culture was ingrained from an early age. The «Instructions of Ani» highlights that a caring mother would regularly provide her son, who attended school, with three loaves of bread and two jars of beer daily[50].

dỉ.tw sw r ꜥ.t-sbȝ m-ḫt sbȝyt.k r sḫȝ
ỉw.s mn.t r-ḥry.k m mn.t ḫr ꜥḳ ḥnḳ.t m pr.s

«[He] was sent you to school, when you were ready to be taught writing, She kept watching over you daily, with bread and beer in her house»[51]

Egyptian love poetry contains numerous references to drinking. Even if he doesn't have his usual beer, the lover is content if he is in the presence of his sweetheart. The following is a lovely love song[52] with a reference to the darling making her lover intoxicated on love as well as beer or wine:

«*Her companion sites to her right side, (and) she makes him drunk, she is obeying that which he says (when) the drinking-bout becomes disordered by drunkenness*»[53]

2. The positive Aspects of Drunkenness

A. Drunkenness and Banquets

In 18th dynasty tombs, banquets featuring both men and women reveling in intoxication, feasting, dancing, and music were commonly depicted in an idealized and

[47] GRIFFITHS 1970: 6; GELLER 1992: 19- 26.

[48] LUTZ 1922: 85; EL-GUEBALY & EL-GUEBALY 1981: 1207–1021; BREWER & TEETER 2001.

[49] GRAVES-BROWN 2010: 168.

[50] In Ancient Egypt, beer was a primary source of nutrition, with daily consumption. Its significance was such that it also functioned as a form of currency. Unlike European beer, which is typically clear, Egyptian beer shared similarities with many contemporary African brews, being notably hazy with abundant particulates and rich in nutrients, much like a porridge. It played a crucial role in providing protein, minerals, and vitamins, and its value was so substantial that beer jars often served as a unit of measurement and had medicinal applications. HOMAN 2004: 84-95.

[51] QUACK 1994: 141: 110, 315.

[52] *P.Turin* 1966/ *P.Turin Cat.* 1966, Dair al-Medina, 20th dynasty, New Kingdom, Possibly the reign of Rameses IV (1,155–1,150 BC), Collection: Museo Egizio, Turin, *P.Turin* 1966. TOBIN 2003: 319-322.

[53] ERMAN 1885: 272-273; MÜLLER 1932: 39–40; GELLER 1992: 19- 26.

symbolic manner. It remains uncertain whether drinking customs altered after the 18th dynasty, when the mortuary banquet scenes were no longer depicted in tomb decorations. However, the Festival of Drunkenness persisted well into the Greco-Roman period, implying that even if images of alcohol consumption with the deceased were no longer created, the tradition itself might have endured[54].

The banquets linked with burial rites were thought to provide connection with the deceased's spirit as well as the gods, and were not seen as disrespectful[55]. The presence of alcohol (beer and wine), musicians, dancers, and attendants, as well as flower collars, water lilies, oil and unguent, are all common features of funeral banquet scenes[56].

People should be eating and drinking in a proper banquet atmosphere. But individuals are not shown eating anything in the Egyptian banquet scenes, even when food may be represented. They, however, drink[57].

Ancient Egyptian drinking traditions are mentioned however, the picture is a bit confusing. Drinks were plentiful during the celebrations, and the goal of the activity was intoxication. This is evident in both the images and the accompanying text. This fact alone reveals a great deal about the character of the banquet scene[58]. The Middle Kingdom *'Dispute between a Man and His Ba'* suggests that drinking could lead to mystical connection. Death's proximity and appeal are suggested:

ỉw mwt m-ḫr.ỉ mỉn
mỉ sṯ sšnw mỉ ḥmst ḫr mryt nt tḫt

«Death is before me {lit.in my face} now, like the scent of a lotus, like sitting on the shores of drunkenness»[59].

This could explain the banqueting scenes where no food is served but alcohol is consumed[60]. Banquets scenes show both men and women holding wine bowls and beer jars, and are often depicted as heavily intoxicated. Elite women and men are occasionally illustrated on separate registers but they can be attended to by either female or male servants. Couples are commonly shown seated together[61].

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[54] HARRINGTON & STAMATOPOULOU 2016: 155.

[55] HARRINGTON & STAMATOPOULOU 2016: 210.

[56] HODEL-HOENES 2000: 1-26.

[57] KROETER 2009: 47-56.

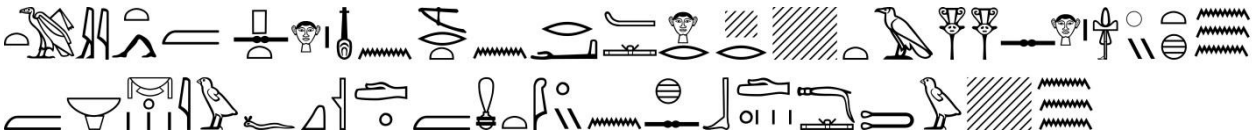
[58] The earlier scenes found in tombs of the Middle Kingdom in Beni Hasan, like the Tomb of Khety, are comparable to the Theban tombs of private citizens from the New Kingdom. Examples of the latter include Pahery at Elkab, Amenemhat TT53, Rekhmire TT100, Djeserkareseneb TT38, and Horemheb TT78. MANNICHE 1997: 31-32.

[59] FAULKNER 1956: 21-40; GOEDICKE 1970: 3; LICHTHEIM 1975: 163-169; HANNIG 1995.

[60] PARKINSON 1940:151-65; OBIN 1991: 342-63; GELLER 1992: 19- 26; SIMPSON 2003: 186; RAVES-BROWN 2010: 168.

[61] In the tomb of Neb-Amun at Thebes, depictions of both men and women gathered at feasts were present, while in the tomb of Pahery at Elkab, distinct scenes of men and women were individually showcased. SALT COLLECTION, BRITISH MUSEUM, ROOM 61: TOMB-CHAPEL NEBAMUN, EA 37986; TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: PL.VII

Servants and maids are seen offering alcoholic beverages to the diners. However, the small vases they hold raise the question of what these vessels contain, as they appear too small for wine or beer **[FIGURE 2].** In the tomb of *Horemheb* TT78, a song praising the goddess *Mut* suggests that a certain product might have been mixed with wine or beer:



Mwt ỉỉt[ỉ] m ps[d].t ḥr nfr n mrt n rdỉ(n) ḥ(r)ḥr ṯzt.s sššt.s ḥr ȝbb tḫ
m kṯ? n nbw ỉw.f ḳd m mỉty n ḫsbd mḥ m w[62]*….*
«*Mut has come as the glowing one of the beautiful face, to cause her sistrum players to be joyful desiring d drunkenness from a goblet of gold, while its pouring container is the likeness of lapis lazuli filled with /// [a liquid]* »[63].

If the purpose of the banquet was to induce intoxication (as evidenced by male and female guests vomiting during the meal), it is plausible that the substances contained in these small vials or double vessels were mixed with the beverages intentionally to boost their strength and hasten the alcoholic effects[64]. Some have evoked the ingestion of a psychedelic chemical that would have allowed the participants to enter an ecstatic condition[65].

In support of this idea, Egyptian art and literature features two plants were used as aphrodisiacs. In the erotic Turin papyrus, for example, there is a depiction of a woman engaging in acrobatic sexual acts beneath a large lotus flower. Furthermore, a love poem suggests that the scent of mandrake was used as a seductive technique. A woman seduces her partner by having him smell the fruit, claiming that it would reveal the color of her entire body[66].

Moreover, both lotus and mandrake were believed to possess properties that heightened the senses and had narcotic effects. It is possible that during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, these substances were employed to induce a psychic state that allowed participants to have a stronger connection with both the divine and the deceased[67].

[62] *URK* 1951: vol.4, 1591.
[63] LICHTHEIM 1945: 184; BRACK & ARTUR 1980: PL.32A; GALAN et Al. 2014: 113, note. a-f.
[64] HARRINGTON & STAMATOPOULOU 2016: 210.
[65] MANNICHE 1997: 33; KROETER 2009: 47-56.
[66] HARTWIG 2004: 100.
[67] MANNICHE 1997: 31.

[FIGURE 2]: Servants carrying small vases rejected by guests - Bahri, al-Kab.
TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: PL.VII

The tomb of *P3-Ḥry* (Paheri), belonging to the middle of the 18th dynasty, under the reign of Thutmosis III, features a scene on the east wall's middle section. This scene depicts the banquet guests facing Paheri and his wife[68] **[FIGURE 3].**

Amensat, one of the female relatives of Paheri, refuses the bowl by her raised arm, and the servant, forgetful of his position while the drinking-bout progresses say jokingly[69]:

[FIGURE 3]: East Wall, Centre: Guests at the Banquet- Tomb of PA-Hry.
TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: PL.VII

n kȝ n swr r tḫt ỉr hrw nfr ỉ sḏm nȝ ḏdw tȝyt ỉrt m ỉr gtḥ m ʿḏȝ
«For the ka, drink to drunkenness, Make it a happy day! Oh, listen to what the companion is saying, do not sham tired!»

But her companion and distant cousin Nub-mehy requested a very large quantity of wine to get drunk, as the caption in the tomb of Paheri explains:

ỉm n.ỉ 18 ynrw n ỉrp mk mrr.ỉ r tḫt ỉst ỉm.ỉ n dḥȝ
«Give me eighteen cups of wine, behold I should like (to drink) to drunkenness, my inside is as dry as straw!» (lit. «the place in me is of straw».
Another servant addresses Sensenbet.

[68] TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: PL.VII.
[69] LUTZ 1922: 100; GELLER 1992: 19- 26.

ḏd.f swr m ỉr nḏb mt nn ỉw.ỉ r wḥʿt

«He says, may you drink, do not refuse (?); See! (lit. Behold) I am not going to leave you»

Here again, the artist has portrayed Sensenbet alongside a lady, the nurse Tupu, who urges her to drink and not, by her refusal, spoil the entertainment. She says:

swr m ỉr ḫwꜣ ṯnf dỉt pḥw.ỉ tꜣ sṯt mt nsỉ pꜣ ḫꜣ n swr

«Drink do not spoil the entertainment: and let the cup come to me: See! it is due to the ha to drink». The noble ladies in the tomb of *Paheri* conduct themselves differently. Two ladies refuse to drink more wine, while one turns back for asking more. This image clearly demonstrates the attitude towards wine: to abstain or drink moderately, or to become inebriated[70].

As the Egyptians were well aware, «mystical drunkenness» should not be confused with «profane drunkenness». There is a dual discourse going on here. The Wisdom texts warned against excessive drinking and chastised public drunkenness. Other texts, however, speak of drink and inebriation as a sacred prerogative, a sign of sincere devotion that leads to a liminal state that allows the living to communicate with the dead and enter the realm of the gods[71].

This clarifies why the servants offer to accompany guests who seemed hesitant: their role is to tempt, persuade, and reassure them to drink. In case they become unwell, the servants won't leave them alone and will ensure they are safely taken home[72].

On some occasions, we witness a gesture that clearly indicates refusal, but the underlying reason behind it is not immediately apparent. In these instances, a guest declines the cup handed to them by a servant or refuses further service. The gesture involves raising the arm and forearm vertically, with the palm facing forward in a dramatic manner. The other hand might be a closed fist, occasionally gripping a piece of rolled cloth[73].

The issue is better understood by looking at a scene from the tomb of *Rekhmirê* TT100. Three drinking ladies are looked after by two maidservants. The text says, *«Is it maat (= good, nice) in her (= goddess) eyes that one should get drunk? »*[74] **[FIGURE 4].**

Fischer points out that the word 'Maat' is written in reversing writing, in which inverted signs are pointed towards the three guests. Additionally, the goddess's image is included as a determinative. . He concludes: «Yes, for Rekhmire, drunkenness is justified and has the approval of the goddess»[75].

[70] TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: 25, PL.VII.

[71] SZPAKOWSKA 2003: 225-237.

[72] MANNICHE 1997: 31–33; KROETER 2009: 47-56.

[73] TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: PL.VII

[74] DAVIES 1943: PL.LXIV.

[75] FISCHER 1977: 91–92.

[FIGURE 4]: Three drinking ladies are looked after by two maidservants. Tomb of Rekhmire. DAVIES 1943: PL.LXIV

The gesture of refusal is not an artistic embellishment by the painter to add variation to the repetitive arrangement of guests, nor does it solely indicate individual preferences regarding drinking. According to Betsy Brian, this gesture is symbolic of a societal concern that has been portrayed in certain tombs[76].

Surprisingly, the servant's response was «May you drink; do not refuse... do not spoil the entertainment; and let the cup come to me». According to Darby, The psychological impact of wine played a pivotal role in ensuring the success of a joyous banquet, as not being intoxicated would hinder the achievement of the gathering's purpose[77].

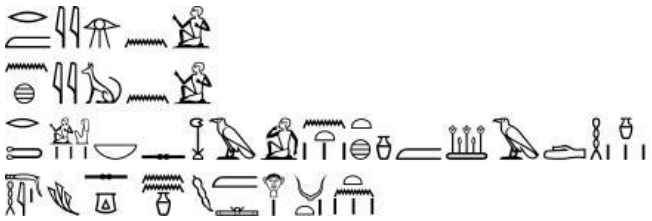
B. Drunkenness and Funerary Rites

Drunkenness was associated with funeral processions in Ancient Egypt. For example, this relief from the tomb of *Merymery* in Saqqara, who was the Custodian of the Treasury of Memphis and was most likely alive during the reign of King Amenhotep III, depicts a grand funeral procession scene. This detail shows a group of mourning females [78] and is accompanied by an inscription:

[76] KROETER 2009: 47-56; BRYAN 2014: 187–98.

[77] DARBY 1977:172.

[78] The relief illustrates an elaborate depiction of a funeral procession, specifically highlighting a gathering of grieving women. This relief is currently housed in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden, the Netherlands. In Ancient Egypt, many women pursued a vocation centered around mourning. Those with the means hired professional mourners to openly express sorrow within the household during the seventy-day process of mummification. These mourners would also accompany the funeral procession to the tomb. The mourning ritual involved actions such as putting dust on the head, tearing clothing, and scratching cheeks while emitting wails of grief. Tomb paintings suggest that the role of a mourner could commence at a young age. In the tomb of Ramose at Thebes, for instance, a group of mourning women includes a very young girl among them. All these figures are depicted standing with raised arms, clearly engaged in loud lamentation – mirroring the mourning practices of contemporary Egyptian women. BARBARA 2011: 35-53.



rmy.n.i nḫy.n.i rmṯ nb sḫȝ nt tḥ m šdḥ mḥy sgnn nḏm ḥr wpt.tn
«I have swept, I have mourned! O all people, remember getting drunk on shedeh, with wreaths and pleasant ointment on your forehead»[79].

This funeral procession scene encourages its viewers to become inebriated[80] **[FIGURE 5].**

[FIGURE 5]: A group of mourning females, tomb of Merymery. BOESER 1911: PL.XV

A magnificent funerary stele dating to the Third Intermediate Period of Egypt, specifically the 22nd dynasty (945-715 BC), also shows the importance of wine in the funerary rites. Crafted in honor of Sheny-Nefer, it depicts funerary offerings and a hieroglyphic inscription. The scene portrays the profile of the deceased, adorned in a white linen loincloth, and worshipping two deities associated with the afterlife. These deities stand before an opulent table laden with offerings. Beneath this table, there are two sealed amphorae, potentially containing wine. The accompanying inscription conveys that the departed individual, often equated with Osiris, the god of the dead, pays reverence to the deity Ra-Harakhte. This deity is described as, among other things, 'the arbiter of the two wines and oil'[81].

The evidence present thus far supports the argument that intoxication in Ancient Egypt was perceived to dissolve the boundary between existence and death, facilitating a connection with deceased ancestors. This aspect further elevated the significance of wine within funerary practices and depictions found in tombs[82] Wine was believed to have a revitalizing effect on the departed[83]. One ritual aimed at achieving this state was

[79] BOESER 1911: PL.XV; SCHNEIDER & RAVEN 1981; WATTERSON 2011: 109.
[80] ERMAN 1966: 167–69; SIMPSON 2002: 93; DAVIES 2003: 9.
[81] MARIANI «Wine in Ancient funerary rites», https://vivancoculturadevino.es/blog/en/2017/05/25/vino-ritos-funerarios-antiguedad/, accessed on (30/08/2023).
[82] *POO* 1995: 37; TEETER 2011: 71.
[83] *POO* 1995: 126.

referred to as the «opening of the mouth». In this ritual, wine was thought to symbolically open the mouth of the deceased statue, as this act was seen as a prerequisite for the deceased to be revived and partake in the offerings presented during the ritual[84]. Following a king's passing, wine held a prominent role as the primary beverage once the king had joined the divine realm in the afterlife[85].

C. Drunkenness and the Army

Alcohol misuse appears to have had a long history in the army; it is even recorded in the account of the siege of Joppa, Harris 500, which occurred during the reign of Thotmes III and Ramses III. According to this account, troops became intoxicated within an hour.

n ḏḥwty ỉm .w..f ..[wʿ]w tȝ ỉwʿyt Pr-ʿȝ ʿnḫw wḏȝw snbw [r] ḥrw.sn ḫr ỉr ḥr-sȝ wnwt st tḫ
«…..to Djehuty, let there be given to him ….soldiers of the troops of Pharaoh, may he live, prosper, and be healthy…..before them. Now after one hour they had become drunk»

A better translation of the word 'drunkard' in this context would be «cause of drunkenness». As part of his strategy to capture Joppa, Djehuty cleverly orchestrated a plan where he lured the enemy's horse-troops into a drunken party, enabling him to capture and secure their horses. The first step toward Joppa's capture was drunkenness[86]. Soldiers always indulged in heavy drinking during holidays, as follows:

ỉst wnn mšʿ n ḥm.f tḫ gsw m bḳ rʿ nb mỉ nty m ḥb Tȝ-Mry
«The soldiers of his Majesty were drunk of wine and anointed with oil each day as on a holiday in Egypt»[87].

Moreover, alcohol consumption was limited to Egyptian troops, who had to wait until the conclusion of a military campaign to receive their ration. This was in contrast to other societies, where being intoxicated was believed to grant strength and courage both in war and love[88].

D. Drunkenness Inspire Happiness

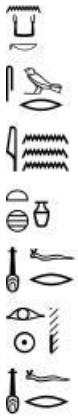
Drinking for pleasure is supported by many sources. Songs, love poems, stories, and even wisdom literature praise the pleasures of intoxication, whether for its own sake or for the conviviality it promotes. Drunkenness is typically associated with seduction and sexual activity among ordinary Egyptians, but it is more commonly seen

[84] *POO* 1995: 78, 162.
[85] MCGOVERN 2003: 102.
[86] DAVIES 2003: 77.
[87] SETHE 1907: 688.
[88] ROSSO 2010: 257.

during parties, banquets, and other social gatherings. The Egyptians viewed drinking parties to be an excellent leisure activity, although it was more for the upper classes than for the lower classes. Informal social gatherings among friends and neighbors in Ancient Egypt often led to varying degrees of intoxication[89].

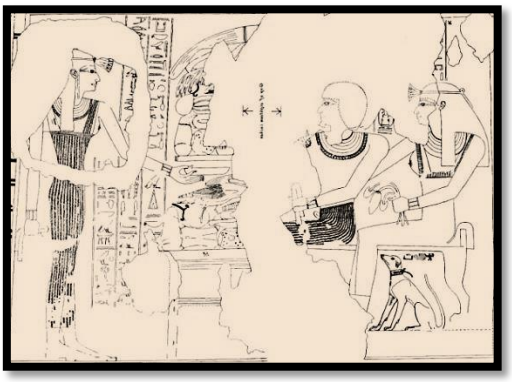
The effect, not the taste of the wine, seems to have impressed the guests, as evidenced by the texts. The intoxicated state was clearly associated with happiness. The sorrows and stresses of everyday existence were driven away by drinking. The god, it was believed, had provided the beverage[90].

The social aspect of drinking is highlighted in texts where daughters seem to encourage their deceased parents to indulge in excessive drinking, using the phrase «May (you) make a good day» (*iri hrw nfr*) and offering a bowl of wine[91]. This is demonstrated on the northern wall of the Theban tomb of *Wsr* (User) TT21, who served as a scribe and steward for King Tuthmosis I during the early eighteenth dynasty. On this wall there is a depiction showing User and his wife Bekt's daughter offering a white saucer of wine to them. She is addressing her parents in the image:



n kȝ.k swt ṯḥ nfr ỉrỉ hrw nfr

«*For your ka Drink the perfect inebriating drink and make a perfect day*!»[92] **[FIGURE 6].**



[FIGURE 6]: Daughter of User and his wife Bekt extends a white saucer of wine to the pair. DAVIES 1913: PL.XXV

[89] SIMPSON 2002: 343, 488.
[90] MANNICHE 1997: 32.
[91] LORTON 1975: 23-31.
[92] DAVIES 1913: 26, PL.XXV.

Manniche provided a comment regarding this particular scene, expressing that the day would become «A happy day» after the cup was empty. Drunkenness was the goal, and it was accomplished with the help of god. It was a way of connecting with the divine and being near the divine[93].

Participants at social occasions were encouraged to drink freely. In the tomb of Ahmes at al-Kab, we read:

swry r tḫt ỉry ḥrw nfr
«*Drinking unto intoxication and celebrating a festive day*»[94].

Further evidence can be found in the tomb of Petosiris, called Ankhefenkhons, located in the necropolis at Tuna al-Gebel. He lived during the 28th dynasty[95]. On the northern side of pillar C in the chapel, his father encourages him to experience sacred drunkenness induced by wine, and urges him to surrender to its effects, saying:

sỉ3 tḫ m 3b.n hrw nfr šms ỉb.tn m 3t ḥty-tp t3
«Drink till drunk while enjoying the feast day! Follow your heart in the moment on earth!»

In naturalistic environments, wine may also inspire happiness. For example, The P. Lansing document contains a letter-writing instruction created by Nebmare-Nakht, the royal scribe and chief overseer of the cattle of Amen-Re, King of Gods, for his apprentice, the scribe *Wenemdiamun*. In his writing, *Nebmare-Nakht* mentioned that the vineyard was a popular spot for relaxation. He went on to describe the plantations of the beautiful mansion with the following words:

ỉw.k ḥms m n3y.sn ḫ3yty ỉw.k wnm n3y.sn dḳrw
ỉry.tw n.k mḥw m n3y.sn spr tḫ.k m n3y.sn ỉrpw
«*You sit in their shade, you eat their fruit, and garlands are made for you of their branches. You are drunk with their wines*»[96].

E. Drunkenness and Festivals

Heavy drinking took place in connection with religious festivals. The intoxication of the celebrants, according to Schott, broke down walls separating the living from the dead[97].

Intoxication could, of course, have religious significance. Even the gods were intoxicated from time to time. Hathor (as Re's eye) was tricked into drinking an excess

[93] MANNICHE 1997: 32.
[94] LUTZ 1922: 106.
[95] LEFEBVRE 1924: 1:90; LICHTHEIM 1980: 51.
[96] ERMAN 1925: 114–15; LICHTHEIM 1976: 173.
[97] SCHOTT 1953: 76–77; DAUMAS 1970: 65.

amount of beer, which was dyed red to seem like blood. She became so inebriated that she passed out, which ultimately saved mankind.

Hathor was dubbed the «Mistress of intoxication» because of this myth, as well as her associations with music, dance, and pleasure. Intoxication was associated with various goddesses, such as Mut, Sekhmet, Tefnut, Bastet, and the beer goddess Menqet. Additionally, certain religious festivals were also connected to the consumption of alcohol and its intoxicating effects[98].

The Festival of Drunkenness

The Drunkenness Festival (*ḥb tḏ*)[99] was a public, state-sponsored ceremony held on the 20th day of the first month of Akhet, the inundation season. The festival was devoted to Hathor, known as *nb(.t) tḏ* «The lady of drunkenness»[100], and it celebrated the salvation of humanity, attributed to beer. The Festival of Drunkenness was a major sociopolitical and religious event; it allowed society to reenact Hathor's pacification by providing plentiful alcohol, which was provided by the king[101].

The festival of drunkenness extends from at least the 12th dynasty to the Graeco-Roman period, but according to Jensen, it had its roots in prehistoric times[102]. The earliest recorded evidence for the festival can be found in a calendar from Niuserre's (5th dynasty) sun-temple, however, the text is incomplete and not infallible[103]. The next evidence comes from Lahun, from which 12th dynasty papyri detail temple festivals and attendees, particularly entertainers.

Luft[104] rebuilt a festival calendar from these documents, putting the celebration on the 20th day of the first month (1 Akhet 20); the festival name is *tp-tḏ*, corresponding to the Egyptian term *tḏj* «drunkenness»[105]. The next known occurrence of the rite occurs during the 18th dynasty when Hatshepsut constructed a «porch of intoxication» (*wʒh/whʒ n tḏ*) at the temple of Mut at Karnak[106]. At the beginning of the 18th dynasty, this feast was so prominent that its month was called «Drunkenness» (*tḏy*) – later it

[98] REDFORD 2002: 185, 196, 285; WILKINSON 2003:178.

[99] RYHOLT & QUACK 1996: 21; BRYAN 2000: 181; SPALINGER 2000: 260; SZPAKOWSKA 2003: 236; RAWASH 2011: 230-231; HORVÁTH 2015:125, 134; JENSEN 2017: 300.

[100] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 7-9, 325; *LÄ* vol.2, cols.1024-33, NN 338; MARIETTE 1870-1875: PL.66A; CHASSINAT 1934-1947: PLS.180-181.

[101] Consuming food and beverages held a sacred significance, serving to not only establish a physical link between humans and the vital cosmic energies but also to connect them with the deities who bestowed this life force. Similarly, the descriptions of the outcomes of consuming wine and beer during religious gatherings should not be interpreted as symbolic references to a metaphorical state of spiritual elation or inspiration. These descriptions were meant to convey actual states of physical intoxication. Clearly, intoxication had important ceremonial roles, signifying the presence of divine beings. As a result, Hathor was also recognized as the Mistress of Drunkenness. DAUMAS 1969: 10-12; SPALINGER 1993: 166–167; QUACK 2009: 353; JENSEN 2017: 296.

[102] GUGLIEMI 1994: 113-132; JENSEN 2017: 296.

[103] HELCK 1977: 57, PL.II; SPALINGER 1993: 297.

[104] LUFT 1992: 217; GUGLIEMI 1994: 113-132.

[105] ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1931: *Wb,* vol.5, 324–25.

[106] BRYAN 2005: 181–83; 2014: 103–106.

became the month: Thot (*Ḏḥwty*)[107]. There is a millennium-long gap until abundant evidence of the celebration resurfaces in Ptolemaic temples.

The festival is unique in that it combines royal and popular components. A procession of priests brought the goddess's statue, escorted by her entourage of other gods, to various chapels of the temple. As recounted at Dendera, she passed through the hypostyle hall and into the front courtyard, where she was set on a kiosk where the population could see her[108]. The celebrants would feast and drink themselves to sleep in the temple's courtyard[109].

It was a ceremony intended to appease the goddess in order to turn her from a destructive lioness into her beneficent aspect as the anima of love, fertility, music, dance, and wine. Once Hathor was appeased, it was anticipated that the annual inundation, when the Nile brought new, fertile soil to the fields and bathed them with life-giving water, would resume its appropriate duty. As a result, the king made offerings to the goddess to make her drunk, while Egyptians staged banquets with plenty of alcoholic beverages. According to a hymn from Medamud, it was a huge celebration[110].

This feast was associated with mythological ideas about the Sun deity Re and his daughter Hathor[111]. The ritual was performed in an attempt to appease the goddess and turn her from a destructive lioness to her beneficent aspect as the animal of love, fertility, music, dancing, and wine. Once Hathor was appeased, it was believed that she would allow the annual inundation, when the Nile brought new, fertile soil to the fields and bathed them with life-giving water, to resume. The king became needed by constructing himself as the link between gods and humanity and therefore as the semi-divine agent capable of propitiating this vital natural force[112].

Hathor's dual character is featured in the tale of the 'Destruction of mankind'. Re is the ruler of the world in this narrative when he discovers that mankind is trying to overthrow him. He dispatches Hathor to slay the rebels. She does so, transforming herself into Sekhmet. Re, on the other hand, reconsiders his intention to exterminate humanity and devises a strategy to calm Sekhmet. He orders the addition of red ochre to 7,000 jars of beer, which are then spilled into the area, flooding it. The goddess sees the lake the next morning and sucks it up in her hunger for blood. She is pacified by her intoxicated state, and she returns to Re as a beautiful woman[113].

As per the myth of the Destruction of Mankind, alcohol played a role in calming the goddess during her rage, which might be associated with the desire to appease (*sḫtp*) the deceased, who could also become angered and pose a threat to the lives and well-being of the living[114].

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[107] SPALINGER 1993: 293, 297–303.
[108] GUGLIEMI 1994: 113-132; CAUVILLE 2002: 55.
[109] GUGLIEMI 1994: 113-132; BRYAN 2014: 103–6.
[110] GUGLIEMI 1994: 113-132; JENSEN 2017: 296.
[111] STERNBERG-EL HOTABI & KAMMERZELL 1992: 101–9.
[112] GUGLIEMI 1994: 113-132; JENSEN 2017: 296, 113-132.
[113] HORNUNG 1982; DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT 1995: 28–30.
[114] MCDOWELL 1999: 104; SZPAKOWSKA 2003: 235.

Drunkenness in the setting of these rites had a deeper meaning than everyday experience. Both the king and the commoner had a hand in recreating political power system by participating in the festival. The king's role in financing large festivals performed a legitimizing purpose, renewing the king's status among his subjects while also renewing the cosmos, since it retold the story of the goddess's pacification, which brought the annual inundation back to Egypt[115].

A hymn to the goddess Rat-Tawy, depicted as Hathor, the sun's returning eye, was intricately carved on the inner west wall of the central kiosk situated at the entrance of the temple of Medamud. The hymn is probably a description of a portion of the festival of inebriation *tḫy* of I *ȝḫt* 20.

The hymn begins with a summons to the goddess to come and attend the celebrations in her honor.

mi.ṯ swtwt m s.t n tḫ

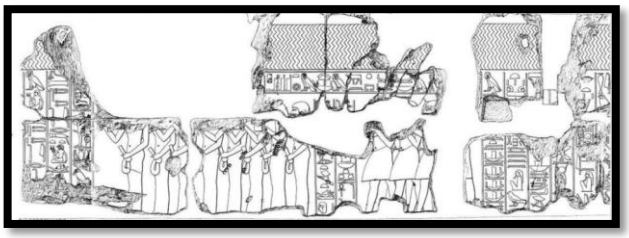
«*May (you) come! The procession is in the place of inebriation*»[116].

There follows a description of the Egyptian celebrants and their activities, in the presence of the returning goddess.

ṯbṯb n.ṯ nwḥ.w m sḳbbwy

«*The drunken celebrants drum for you during the cool of the night*»[117].

The Egyptian celebrants welcome the goddess into the entrance kiosk of the temple, termed a *s.t n tḫ*, 'place of inebriation'. The *s.t n tḫ* should be a festival booth on the bank of the Nile, like the *mswr* of the 'songs of drinking place' accompanying the Poet procession in Luxor Temple[118] and the *.t ḥḳ.t* of love poetry. An inebriated place is ideal for a riverside procession and festival[119]. The drinking spot referred to here is a booth set up by celebrants during nautical festivals. These booths align with the theme of sexual union that is inherent in the Opet Festival[120] **[FIGURE 7].**



[FIGURE 7]: In the colonnade hall of Luxor Temple, scenes from the Opet Festival depict priestesses and priests singing the «Songs of the Drinking Place» as part of the celebration. From the festival scenes of Tutankhamen. EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1994: PL.26

[115] GUGLIEMI 1994: 113-132; JENSEN 2017: 301.
[116] DARNELL 1995: 49–50.
[117] DARNELL 1995: 54.
[118] DARNELL 1991: 76–80; EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1994: 12–14, PLS.67-68; FISCHER-ELFERT 1999: 65-85.
[119] DERCHAIN 1975: 82–86; FOX 1985: 14-16, 46, 48 n.q.
[120] DARNELL 1995:59; DARNELL 2010: 8.

The association of the entrance of the temple with a place of inebriation helps to clarify a portion of a song from the tomb of Amenemhat[121]. The temple of the deity, in which he rises and sets can, like the horizon, be a feminine consort of the deity. So according to a singer in the tomb of Amenemhat:

«*How well it goes for the temple of Amun-Re, she who spends the day in the festival, with the king of the gods within her, [spending the night (?)…*
[ỉw.s mỉ tḫ].tỉ ḥms.tỉ r-rwy ḏrỉ.t
She is like a drunken woman, seated outside the dwelling place (*of the god*)»[122].

Archaeological excavations have brought to light Ancient festivals centered around drunkenness and porches where participants would indulge in libations, seeking near-death experiences. Death was seen as a state of being closest to the divine, and the potency of the beverage consumed at these sites played a role in heightening this experience. Furthermore, sanatoriums have been uncovered at Hathor temples where patients underwent trance-like states to establish connections with deities for healing purposes[123].

Festival of the Goddess Bastet

The festival of the goddess Bastet[124] took place at the cult center of the goddess Bastet in Bubastis. It was the most extravagant and widely celebrated festival in all of Egypt. The event revolved around joyful activities like dancing, singing, and indulging in drinks as a tribute to Bastet. The purpose was to express gratitude for the blessings received from the goddess and to seek her favor for the times ahead[125].

These events involved a formal procession in which the representation of the community's deity was taken out, allowing even regular people to catch a glimpse of at least its moveable shrine. Despite providing a remarkable account of the festivities honoring Artemis-Bastet, Herodotus did not offer any details regarding how the goddess appeared in her sacred boat during the river procession[126]. But based on

[121] DAVIES & GARDINER 1915: PL.15.

[122] DARNELL 1995: 60.

[123] GUTIERREZ HADDAD 2021: 33.

[124] The town of Bubastis celebrated numerous festivals dedicated to its patron goddess, Bastet. According to the festival schedule found in the Temple of Horus in Edfu during the time of Ptolemy X, the major Bubastis festivals occurred on specific dates: the 13th of the 2nd Month in *ȝḫt*, the 13th of the 1st Month in *šmw*, and the 18th of the 2nd Month in *šmw*. Herodotus mentioned a festival, which was likely one of these, especially since the list indicates that on the 1st of the 2nd month (Pauni) in *šmw*, there was a festival honoring the goddess Hathor of Dendera, who resided in Bubastis. Hathor would travel to Bubastis during this time, aligning perfectly with Herodotus' description. She played a role, albeit a divine one, in the grand Bubastite festival. According to the Canopus Decree, the Greater and Lesser Boubastia occurred on the first day of the 2nd Month in *šmw*, possibly linked to the harvest season and the rising of the Nile River. The Saite Calendar and the Esna Festival List also mention a festival on the 16th of the 2nd Month in *šmw*. Additionally, other texts refer to a procession of Bastet at Karnak on the 29th of the 1st Month in *prt*, a procession in Herakleopolis on the 5th day of the 4th Month in *prt*, and a festival in Thebes on the 4th day of the 4th Month in *prt*. *LÄ* vol.1, col. 628–630; HELCK 1971: 84; DARBY, GHALIOUNGUI & GRIVETTI 1977: 571; LLOYD 1994: 272-3; MALEK 1997: 98; RUTHERFORD 2005: 141-142.

[125] GERMOND 1981: 259; PINCH 2004: 116.

[126] STADLER 2008: 3; COPPENS 2009: 2.

various clues from various sources, it is conceivable or anticipated that religious festival processions encompassed five fundamental components. These included: firstly, the primary deities from the temple in their ceremonial boats; secondly, additional deities represented as standards leading the way for the boats; thirdly, the presence of the king; fourthly, the gathered audience; and finally, the participants who played roles in the procession[127].

It becomes evident that during the celebration of Bastet's festival, the goddess was brought out of her sanctuary, as documented on the statue of General Hor, who stated: «I brought out Bast in procession to her bark, at her beautiful feast of the fourth month of the second season, the fifth day until [///]». Undoubtedly, the central location for this festival was the temple. Consequently, the river and canals would not only have been crowded with small boats but also grand ceremonial ships, potentially carrying deities like Hathor. They sailed down the Nile from various parts of Egypt to converge on Bubastis in their divine boats, joining their worshippers in this renowned Bastet festival[128].

Recent evidence confirms the presence of the king at this event, as depicted in an autobiographical inscription on the left side of a block statue belonging to Nefer-ka, a priest of the lion-goddess Sekhmet during the reign of King Amenhotep III (approximately 1388–1350 BC)[129].

Regarding the gatherings of individuals, Herodotus mentioned that: «When the people are on their way to Bubastis they go by river, men and women together, a great number of each in every boat. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. As they journey by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank; then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town; others dance, and others stand up and expose their persons. This they do whenever they come beside any riverside town. But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year beside»[130].

The Feast of the Valley

The Beautiful Feast of the Valley, renowned in Thebes, had a long history, dating back to the Middle Kingdom and continued to be observed through the Greco-Roman period[131].

The name of this significant festival, known as «*Ḥb nfr n ỉnt*» has been documented in various tombs from the 18th dynasty. In the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar, which is dated to the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, this celebration is referred to as «*Ḥb ỉnt*»[132].

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[127] STADLER 2008: 3 .

[128] ALLIOT 1954: 335, 5-6.

[129] BAKR, BRANDL & KALLONIATIS (ed.) 2010: 176-9, Nrº.53.

[130] HERODOUTS 2008: vol.2, 60; LUTZ 1922: 2.

[131] ALLAM 1963: 68-72.

[132] FOUCART 1930: 50ff; SCHOTT 1952: 67; KITCHEN 1983: 124.

It seems that «*Ḥb ỉnt*» was one of the designations used for the Beautiful Feast of the Valley at al-Dair al-Medina, at least during the 19th dynasty. This feast, «*Ḥb nfr n ỉnt*» is also mentioned in the inscription on the rear support of a statue belonging to Neferhotep found in his tomb (TT216), which is attributed to the 19th dynasty[133].

During the 20th dynasty, the name of the Feast of the Valley may have been «*pn-ỉnt*». In document O. DeM 645, dated to the reign of Ramesses IV, which records court proceedings, an unidentified individual is said to have sworn an oath to make a reimbursement before «*pn-ỉnt*». This might possibly be a reference to the name of the festival itself[134].

It was associated with the god Amun-Re, who then embarked on a journey to the western hills on the opposite side of the river, believed to be the dwelling place of Hathor. The ceremonial journey was initiated during the 11th dynasty[135]. It passes through the funerary temples of the ancestral kings and settles in the funerary temple of the contemporary king for the events of the feast. It is believed that the observance of the Valley Festival and the arrival of the deceased on the western mainland evolved from an earlier celebration in which Hathor, known as the «goddess of the West», traditionally emerged from the hills to receive the departed souls. This practice dates to at least the Old Kingdom period. However, with the advent of the worship of Amun in Thebes starting from the 11th dynasty, Amun took over Hathor's role in visiting the deceased in the West. Nevertheless, this did not diminish Hathor's status as the deity associated with the West. She continued to hold a significant role by accompanying Amun, along with a group of Hathor priestesses, during his visits to the western mainland as part of the Valley Festival[136]. During the Valley Festival, the priests carried the portable boat of Amun, known as «*wṯs nfrw*» and paraded with it through the temple's courtyards until they reached the courtyard of the columns. At this location, they presented splendid offerings to Amun, including bouquets of flowers and soft linen garments that were distributed to the audience as part of the festivities[137].

The second part of the Valley Festival celebrations on the western mainland in Thebes can be divided into two sections. The first section involved a celebration within the mortuary temple of the reigning king of the festival. The inscriptions at the Ramesseum temple described how, in the evening, the people of Thebes would participate in a torch-lit procession, ascending slopes and hills until they reached the tombs of their ancestors. They brought with them ample provisions such as food,

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[133] BRUYÈRE 1925: 41-43; *PM* I². 1: 312–315.

[134] ČERNÝ 1970: PL.10; KITCHEN 1983: 125; HELCK 2002:379–380.

[135] The ceremonial journey was initiated during the 11th dynasty, as archaeological evidence indicates the existence of a mud brick temple dedicated to Amun-Re on the eastern bank of Thebes as early as the reign of king Intef II. Nebhetepre Mentuhotep II, one of his successors from the 11th dynasty, built a terraced temple within a natural valley of cliffs directly facing Karnak, known as Deir el Bahri. The absence of supporting structures around it suggests that it was constructed primarily as a staging area for ceremonial events and as the focal point for the local festival. BLACKMAN 1925: 249-255; BERLANDINI 1965: 9-41; DORESSE 1979: 36-65; BAILEY 1996: 15-28; GABOLDE 1999: 31-49; AMOLD 2005:137.

[136] FOUCARD 1930: 50ff; GRAEFE: *LÄ* vol.6, col.187-188.

[137] RAWASH 2011: 197-198.

drinks, sweets, wine, and everything needed for an entire night in the cemetery alongside their deceased loved ones. They engaged in music, dance, singing, and hymn-chanting dedicated to their deity, Amun. Many tombs in the western mainland feature scenes and texts depicting the Feast of the Valley, including one that reads: «*The beer has matured for the sake of the day of the feast, and people are awake all night enjoying the beauty of the night, and on the roofs his name is repeated, and his direction hymns to him in the darkness of the night*»[138].

During the Feast, a song was performed, describing Hathor in a manner that left no doubt about her significance and presence in the celebration as follows:

«The goddess is like a woman, who sits drunken outside her room, with locks of hair falling on her breast» (Theban Tomb N^{ro}. 82)[139].

On the feast of the valley, the dead used to share with the living in the banquets held in the feast, eating what they loved during their lives, drinking wine and beer, and enjoying dancing and singing. In fact, the participation of the dead in the feast was through the ka of the deceased, and this is what we notice in all the offerings that the family of the deceased made to him, such as offerings, food, drink, and bouquets of ankhs. The priests performed purification rituals during Amun's procession to the cemetery[140].

It's still possible that the beverages consumed at the Feast of the Valley and other such events were stronger than the alcohol concentration alone would indicate[141]. The belief in the rejuvenating and fertility aspects of inebriation may lie behind the (*tḫw)* title at the Min festival, which is clearly derived from the 'drunkard'(*tḫw*). Two wab-priests at the festival carried this title[142].

3. The Negative Aspects of Drunkenness

In Egypt, drinking excessively outside of designated festivals was considered socially unacceptable[143]. Concerns about intoxication-related unrestrained behavior are expressed in texts. Alcohol not only reduces inhibitions, enabling men to act inappropriately: Their conversation becomes more romantic, their body more expressive. They hug each other more freely, laugh, cry, and dance in ways that are claimed to convey their actual feelings and personalities. As a result, the sacred gatherings involving the consumption of wine served as vital outlets for the outpouring of suppressed emotions and behaviours[144].

A. Instruction of Kagemni

Drunkards are frequently violent; that is reflected in the Old Kingdom instruction of Kagemni, which says:

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[138] MARCINIAK 1971: 54-64; HAIKAL 1972: 11-16; KARKOWSKI 1979: 359–364; WIEBACH 1986: 263–291; NAGUIB 1991: 21–32; HARTWIG 2004: 91–103.

[139] MANNICHE 1997: 32.

[140] AL-NUBI 1994:166.

[141] MANNICHE 1997: 33.

[142] ERMAN & GRAPOW 1971: *Wb,* vol.5, 325: 6, 19.

[143] HARRINGTON, DRAYCOTT & STAMATOPOULOU 2016: 155.

[144] GEFOU-MADIANOU 1992: 13.

ỉr swr.k ḥnʿ tḫw šsp.k ỉw ỉb.f ḥtpw

«*When you drink with a drunkard, take when his heart is content* » [145].

B. Instructions of Ani

In Ani's New Kingdom Instructions drunkenness is described as a result of excessive drinking. Ani advises his son to avoid alcohol, explaining to him in a lively speaking picture why the drunkard appears to be in terrible condition.

ỉmỉ.k hd.k m swr ḥnḳt bn (tw)t smy sn.nw prỉ m r.k nn rḫ.k ḏd.s tw.k hzy.t ḥʿ.k szw nn kỉỉ (ḥr) dỉ.t dr.t.k nzy.k ỉry-swr st (ḥr) ʿḥʿ (ḥr) ḏd ḥry (r) pzy swr.f ỉw.t wḫz.k r nḏnḏ.k gmỉ.t.k sḏr ḥr ỉtn ỉw.k mỉ ʿḏ šrỉ

«Don't indulge in drinking beer, lest you utter evil speech. And don't know what you're saying. If you fall and hurt your body, none holds out a hand to you: your companions in the drinking, stand up saying: Out with the drunk! If one comes to seek you and talk with you, one finds you laying on the ground, as if you were a little child» Herodotus[146].

C. Anastasi Papyrus

A dismissive attitude toward this behaviour is mirrored in the Anastasi IV Papyrus (BM EA10249, col. 11, 8-12, 5). According to a letter written by a teacher to his student, the young Egyptian student had a tendency to neglect his studies and spend time in the city's taverns, where he would consume both locally made and imported wines, leading to drunkenness. The teacher writes:

«*You are like a broken steering-roar in a ship that is obedient to neither side. You are like a shrine without its god, like a house without bread. People meet you, when you climb on a wall, and you brake … People run away from behind you, because you inflict wounds upon them*»

After this description the master gives his apprentice this summary:

ḥn ṯw.k rḫ.tw ỉw bwt ỉrp mtw.k ʿrḳ.k ḥr šdḥ mtw.k tm dỉ.t ṯ(z)bw m ḥzty.k

«*Did you know that wine is abomination, you would divert from shedeh, and you would not put the jugs in your heart*»[147].

[145] GARDINER 1946: 73; LICHTHEIM 1973: 6.

[146] SUYS 1935: 35; LICHTHEIM 1976: 137; QUACK 1994: 141:95- 96, 290.

[147] GARDINER 1937: 47; FEUCHT 1990: 65.

D. The Instruction of Papyrus Insinger

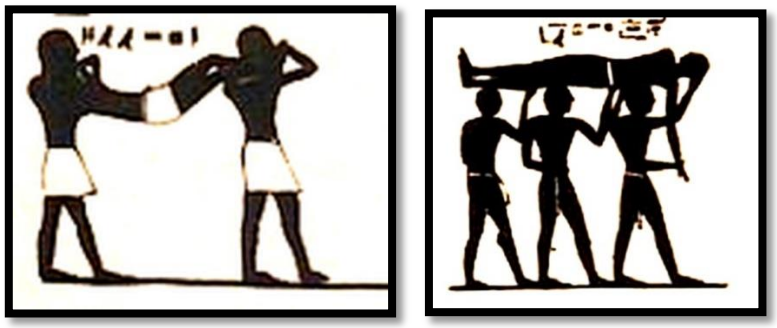
According to the author of the Papyrus Insinger, various illnesses are attributed to excessive eating and drinking. It mentioned that «*He who drinks too much wine lies down in a stupor with the head lost*»[148].

4. Physical Effects of Drunkenness

Certain wall paintings portray scenes of a lavish banquet hosted by a wealthy man, where a sick lady is shown vomiting, likely due to excessive alcohol consumption. In other depictions, a manservant is seen asleep behind the cellar door, clearly intoxicated from wine, while slaves carry away the master and a guest, both heavily inebriated[149]. These scenes illustrate that the Egyptians indulged in wine despite the consequence of losing their sobriety[150].

A. Passing out (unconsciousness)

The tomb of ḫty (khety) from the XIth dynasty depicted drunkenness on the south wall, eastern section. The scene shows two slaves, one at the master's feet and the other at his head, carrying him while he is completely intoxicated. Following them are three slaves who lift their master onto their heads, carrying him like a rigid pole. The first slave supports the master's head with his hand[151] **[FIGURE 8].**



[FIGURE 8]: Unconsciousness cases from tomb of khety. NEWBERRY1893: PL.XVI

B. Sleep

A part of the vintage scene in the tomb of Antef (TT 155) shows that the wine has been determined to be excellent, and the full jars are now being brought to the cellar by a procession of four men led by a stick-wielding overseer. The man who has arrived at the door discovers that it is closed; he knocks but gets no response, and then says to the man behind him **[FIGURE 9].**

[148] JONCKHEERE 1950: 224–25; LICHTHEIM 1980: 190; LICHTHEIM 1983: 52, 13.

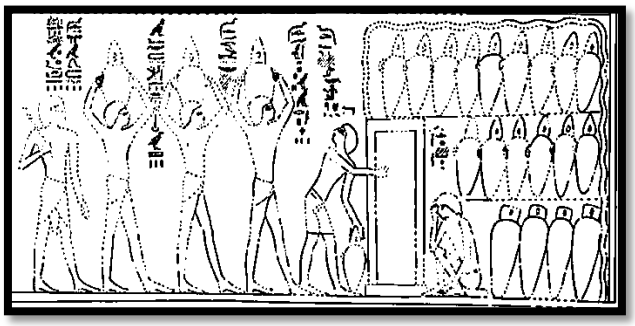
[149] EL-GUEBALY & EL-GUEBALY 1981: 1207–21; LUTZ 1922: 88; BREWER &TEETE 2001:52.

[150] For example: In the poem about a woman who fearlessly displays her closeness with her lover to his family, or the women aboard boats described by Herodotus who boldly reveal themselves and shout indecent words, the intoxicated celebrants were freely wandering through the wetlands, seeking companions for the festive night. QUACK 1996: 22.

[151] NEWBERRY 1893: vol.2, PL.XVI; LUTZ 1922: 98.

ḏd.f bȝk sḏr ḏd.f sw tḫt m ỉrp

«*He said: [The] servant is sleeping. He said he is drunken with wine*»[152]

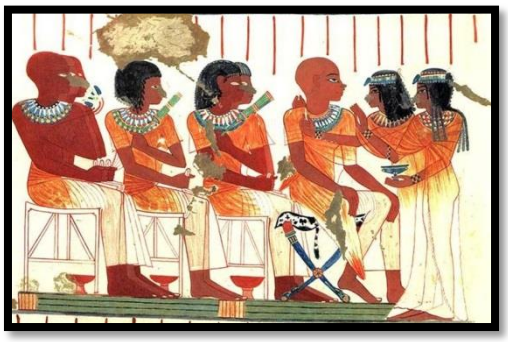


[FIGURE 9]: Sleep case from the tomb of Antef. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1957: PL.XV

C. Vomiting

In the New Kingdom, depictions of guests vomiting during banquets and parties were found in scenes featuring the elite. For example, on the tomb of Nebamon (TT181) and Ipuky, specifically on the south-west wall, in the sub-register of men, the guests at the banquet are portrayed. There are seven characters, four of whom have bald heads.

They are seated on elegant folding stools with blue legs, and beneath each stool, there is a small bowl. It is believed that these bowls were provided in case anyone consumed excessive amounts of alcohol and needed to vomit[153] **[FIGURE 10].**

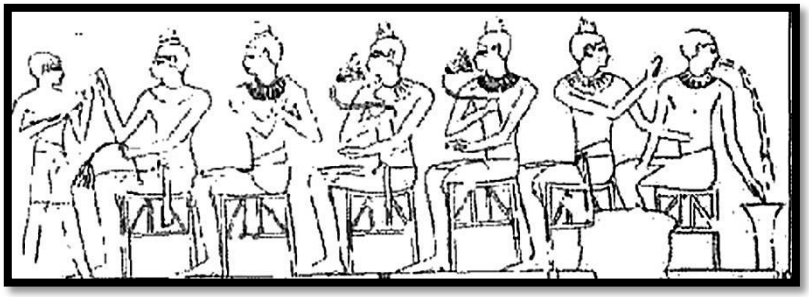


[FIGURE 10]: Bowls use in case of vomiting. Tomb of Nebamon. DAVIES 1925: 33.

On the tomb of Djeserkareseneb (TT38), also known as Djeserka, the south wall on the west end shows the men partaking in Djeserka's feast. The guest positioned

[152] SAVE-SODERBERGH 1957: 18, PL.XV; WILFONG 2001: 181.
[153] DAVIES 1925: 33.

at the far right in the scene diverts away from the others and vomits into a large-necked container placed behind his stool (although due to wall fading, the vomit is not clearly visible today). The man seated in front of him tries to assist him. It is evident that this situation is a clear consequence of excessive drinking[154] **[FIGURE 11]**.



[FIGURE 11]: A guest vomits into a tall wide necked vessel. Tomb of Djeserkareseneb. DAVIES 1963: PLS.I-VII

At Thebes, there is a wall painting that portrays a particularly graceful scene. In this depiction, the ladies are shown overwhelmed by the effects of excessive wine consumption. One of the intoxicated ladies holds a lotus flower, which represents intoxication and therefore also symbolizes her state. Their female attendants take care of them. Similarly, the banquet scene of Neferhotep (TT49) in the Theban necropolis illustrates a woman in the top register who is shown vomiting after indulging in too much wine[155] **[FIGURE 12].**

[FIGURE 12]: Excessive consumption in Ancient Egypt, Theban Tomb, New Kingdom. LUTZ 1922: 99

III. RESULTS

Kings, like priests, elite, and high-ranking officials, drank wine throughout ancient Egyptian history. Women, especially those from the upper classes, were urged to drink freely at banquets to «not spoil the entertainment». Drunkenness was

[154] DAVIES 1963: 421– 432, PLS.I –VII.
[155] PETERS-DESTÉRACT 2005; STÜNKEL 2021: 1

considered a «holy intoxication» in Ancient Egypt, and it was thought to be a way for women to connect to the gods through a different state of mind.

«Mystical drunkenness» and «profane drunkenness» were not confused by the Egyptians. The attitude toward alcohol in banquet scenes demonstrates this: abstinence from drinking, moderate drinking, or drunkenness. Furthermore, the Wisdom texts warned against excessive drinking. Other texts, on the other hand, speak of inebriation and wine as a sacred right, a sign of real devotion.

In most cases, intoxication was considered beneficial and appealing. It was associated with pleasure, and companionship, and a way to establish a connection with both the divine and the deceased. The significance of drunkenness lies not solely in the pleasure it brings but in the altered state it induces, allowing the living to communicate with the departed and access the realm of the gods. As a result, inebriation was seen as a sacred privilege and an indication of genuine devotion. This belief is evident in the presence of feasts, banquets, and funeral processions that encouraged and embraced drunkenness as part of their rituals.

Nonetheless, instructions, wisdom, and Miscellanies are examples of texts that express concern about the disordered behavior that can result from intoxication. They described the drunkard with several characteristics as follows: the drinker is frequently violent, his speech is terrible, he has no idea what he is saying, he misses friends' assistance, he passes out and loses his head and he is helpless as a small child.

Furthermore, depicting the drunkard with a variety of symbolic themes is as follows: he is like a broken steering oar on a ship, like a shrine without its god, like a house without bread. Because he inflicts harm on others, they run from behind you.

Behaviors such as having a hot temper, being overly gluttonous, lacking piety, displaying arrogance towards strength or knowledge, engaging in intemperate actions, scheming, disrespecting those of higher status or the elderly and ill, being greedy, and being excessively talkative are all deemed as undesirable conduct. However, these actions are not subject to any formal punishment, but result in disapproval from one's peers, potentially impacting the wrongdoer's social or professional life.

The Ancient Egyptians believed in balance, so being able to control one's drinking, as well exert control in other parts of one's life, was necessary. If not taken to extremes, intoxication was acceptable in a variety of situations. Though most of our evidence for the Ancient Egyptians' attitudes against intoxication comes from the New Kingdom, earlier and later sources appear to show a degree of consistency over time.

A person could drink while experiencing the divine and magical through holy drunkenness. Excavations have uncovered festivals focused on drunkenness and porches where participants would seek near-death experiences through libation. Death was viewed as a state where one becomes closest to the divine, and the intensity of this connection could be heightened by the type of beverage consumed at the site.

To comprehend the behavior exhibited during these festivals, it is crucial to grasp the connection between their purpose and the accompanying mythological narratives. There was an undeniable shift in the acceptability of behavior over the course of these festivals. Participants were not only encouraged but also expected to go to great lengths to please the goddess during her celebration. This was achieved through activities such

as drinking, dancing, singing, making noise, and engaging in overt sexual behavior. It's important to note that this behavior contrasted with the typical image of an Egyptian, who are characterized as composed, of high status, and literate. Wisdom literature would suggest that an Ancient Egyptian would not typically be involved in such activities. Therefore, I believe that understanding the festivals' underlying significance and their role in the cycle of the world is necessary to explain this difference in attitude.

Several recurring themes can be observed in the preceding texts. One of the most prominent themes is the excessive consumption of alcoholic drinks, which is reflected in the modern name of the festivals. Additionally, there is a shared emphasis on activities such as dancing, singing, and creating noise as offerings to the goddess. Furthermore, it appears that certain behaviors were widespread at these events, including the indulgence in food as described in various texts. Some sources even suggest that alongside intoxication, individuals may have used the inhalation of blue lotus fumes to establish a connection with the divine. The wall paintings highlighted three of the most important symptoms of drunkenness, which are vomiting, unconsciousness and sleep.

IV. CONCLUSION

To sum up, in Ancient Egypt, two contrasting perspectives on drunkenness prevailed. The positive perspective regarded drunkenness as a source of pleasure, companionship, and a means of connecting with gods and the deceased. In this context, self-control was advocated, as moderation was considered essential for leading a wise life and earning respect.

On the other hand, the negative view was associated with the sinful nature of excessive intoxication, which had the potential to ruin individuals' lives. When someone exhibited extreme drunkenness and lost control, they were generally met with varying degrees of disapproval. Though efforts were made to caution the young against excessive and frequent intoxication, drunk individuals were mostly treated with amusement or little concern.

When examining the recommended behavior outlined in Ancient Egyptian instructional texts, it becomes evident that it significantly contrasts with the actions observed during festivals dedicated to the Solar Eye Goddess. The motivation behind the Egyptians' willingness to deviate from cultural moral norms during these festivals was primarily ideological. The objective was to ensure the appeasement of the Solar Eye Goddess, who was known for her capricious and formidable nature. To maintain her favor and prevent potential catastrophes, it was deemed essential for as many people as possible to engage in her preferred activities during her celebration.

If the Solar Eye Goddess remained dissatisfied during her festival, it was believed that this dissatisfaction could trigger a wide range of disasters in the world. Consequently, by participating in these activities, which were typically discouraged, every Egyptian contributed to the preservation of world stability.

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THE *CYNOCEPHALUS* ICONOGRAPHY IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND COPTIC ARTS

BY

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ABSTRACT

[AR] تصوير كائنات مستكلبة الرأس في الفن المصري القديم والقبطي

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة الكائنات المتمثلة فى الفن برأس الكلبيات وجسم الإنسان، ويتتبع أهمية تصويرهم في الفن المصري القديم والفن القبطي. وقد عرفت الديانة المصرية القديمة هذا النوع من التمثيل حيث أنها منحت مكانة عالية للحيوانات عامةً، إيماناً بأن الإله الخالق قد خلق جميع المخلوقات دون تسلسل هرمي، مهدت هذه الفكرة لتبجيل الحيوانات وقبول الشكل الحيواني والهجين للآلهة. وترجع أهمية تمثيل مخلوقات بهذا الشكل لأهمية الكلبيات وارتباطها بفكرة الموت والبعث. وتنقسم هذه الورقة البحثية إلى جزئين يتبع كل منهما الطريقة الوصفية التحليلية لتوضيح دور المخلوقات المستكلبة الرأس وتمثيلها في الفن المصري القديم والفن القبطي. ويتمثّل الهدف الرئيسي لهذا البحث في تتبُع استمرارية تصوير المخلوقات الكلبية ودراسة اختلاف دلالاتها على مر العصور. علماً بأن هذا التمثيل غير شائع في الفن القبطي، خاصة عند تمثيل القديسيين حيث إن رمزية الكلبيات مرتبطة بالشر والشيطان والفساد والخراب في العقيدة المسيحية. وبالرغم من ذلك، استلهم الفنان القبطي كثير من الأفكار من التراث المصري القديم واستمر تمثيل المخلوقات المستكلبة الرأس لما يقرب من ثلاثة عشر قرن حتى مع تحريم المعتقدات الدينية للمصري القديم.

[EN] The aim of the paper is to investigate the significance of *cynocephalus* iconography, which is the depiction of creatures with a canid's head and a human's body. The iconography initially emerged in Ancient Egyptian religion, which bestowed a high rank to their animals and instilled the belief that the creator deity created all the beings without hierarchy. This idea paved the way for the reverence of the animals and the acceptance of the hybrid and zoomorphic form of the deities. The *cynocephali* form's significance depends on the canines' importance and the connection with the sacred idea of death and resurrection in Ancient Egypt. The paper consists of two parts. The first part adopts the descriptive, analytical method to illustrate the *cynocephali* and their representations over the Ancient Egyptian and the Coptic eras. The paper also aims to follow the continuity of *cynocephali* iconography and to study the controversy of its significance in different epochs. The representation was uncommon in Coptic art, especially when representing saints, because of the evil, humble, and corruptive symbolism of canines in Christian dogma. However, this pictographic representation lasted for almost thirteen centuries in Coptic art because of the influence of Ancient Egyptian iconography and because Ancient Egyptian art was considered one of the most inspirational sources for Christian artists, even while Ancient Egyptian beliefs were prohibited.

KEYWORDS: Ancient Egyptian art, Canines, Cannibals, Coptic art, *Cynocephalus*, Death deities, Dog-headed creatures, Hybrid representation, Saints, Resurrection.

I. INTRODUCTION

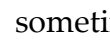
According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *cynocephalus* refers to a creature with a canid's head and a human body[1]. It is derived from Latin, and originates with the Greek word «*Κέφαλος*» which means dog-headed[2]. The term canid refers to carnivore animals belonging to the canidae family, including wolves, jackals, foxes, coyotes, dingoes, and wild and domestic dogs. The origin of the canines is a matter of dispute because all the Old World canines had the same number of chromosomes. However, it is believed that the wolf is the predecessor of all canids[3].

Before discussing the importance of canines in the Ancient Egyptian environment, it should be noted that animals were highly respected throughout Ancient Egyptian history. Ancient Egyptians used to identify the different characteristics of these animals to incorporate them in daily life and religion. The importance of animals in Ancient Egypt is clear from the representation of the creation myths on temples since early periods of Egyptian history. God created all creatures as equals. The Ancient Egyptians did not differentiate among the living creatures as they were all created from the creator deity's body, mind, and word. The equality between animals and humans denoted the importance of the animals, as some Ancient Egyptian deities were identified with distinguished animals[4]. Gods were linked to specific animals according to the nature of the animals and the deity's identity. They depicted them with anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, or even hybrid iconography. Hybridism is when animal and human actions and features are combined to embody divine characteristics and powers, creating the diverse nature of the Ancient Egyptian religion[5].

The researcher found different kinds of canines that were part of the daily and religious life of the Ancient Egyptians, such as dogs, jackals, hyenas, and foxes[6]. Although some canines, such as dogs, were considered essential faithful pets, protectors of their masters, and partners in hunting and working, other canines, including hyenas and foxes, were less important and considered to be frightening beasts[7]. Jackals and dogs were closer to religious life more than the other species of canines[8].

The Ancient Egyptian religious significance of canines, which lasted from Egypt's early history until the late Greco-Roman era, was due to their association with the afterlife and resurrection. Canine deities were likely associated with death since the Predynastic period due to their role in the exhumation of the tombs. The identity of the animal represented in the Egyptian art for canine funerary deities is debated, with some attributing them for a wild dog or a golden jackal. This confusion arises because both were

[1] *THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY* 1933: 1304.
[2] LIDDELL & SCOTT 1996: 1011.
[3] DAVIS 1987: 131-132.
[4] DUNAD & LICHTENBERG 2005: 17.
[5] WILKINSON 2003: 28-29.
[6] HOULIHAN 2001: 229-231.
[7] OSBORN & OSBORNOVÁ 1998: 55; HOULIHAN 2001: 229-231; IKRAM 2001: 134.
[8] WILFONG 2015: 12.

sometimes referred to by the same word  *sꜣb* , which encompassed various types[9]. Although the Ancient Egyptians could differentiate among canid species, they preferred to choose a hybrid form of some of their canines to represent these funerary deities. The false idea that these canine deities were wolves came from Hellenic literature. However, wovles were not found in Ancient Egypt[10].

The Ancient Egyptian era left behind tremendously rich iconography that lasted until the Coptic era[11]. The Copts were familiar with the places depicting different animals from Ancient Egypt. They embraced their new religion in Ancient templs, which they changed into churches or cells for monks. They also observed different aspects of animals and their significance in Greco-Roman culture. However, they chose only some of these animals and gave them different meanings from their counterparts in Ancient Egyptian, Hellenistic, and Roman civilizations[12].

Canines and their symbolism in Coptic art differed from their significance in Ancient Egyptian art. The species depicted in Coptic art were dogs, wolves, and jackals. Generally, canines were related to malignant evil traits. However, there were some exceptions with some species. The significance of each animal was determined according to verses from the Bible.

Firstly, the wolf was considered to be the origin of all canines. It was also a symbol of evil powers, deception, and wiliness. Savage wolves were mentioned in the Bible[13], and were likened to the devil that scattered the believers. Christ told his disciples that he would send them as lambs among the wolves, referring to the obstacles that they would face[14]. The jackal was also a symbol of destruction in the prophecy of Isaiah[15] against Babylon and associated with weeping and wailing[16]. Meanwhile, foxes were among the canines related to sin and deception[17]. They were symbols of corruption in the Holy Book: «*Catch for us the foxes, the little foxes that ruin the vineyards, our vineyards that are in bloom*»[18].

However, the dog could be a virtuous symbol, embodying watchfulness and loyalty, as mentioned in the story of Tobias. In this story, a dog was following Tobias like a well-faithful companion. The dog was considered a good messenger, since it announced Tobias's arrival to his family[19]. The dog's subordination to Tobias symbolized the salvation of Christ to Jews and Gentiles who were likened to dogs. Dogs were also a symbol of matrimonial loyalty, so they were sometimes depicted being carried by married women or

[9] WILFONG 2015: 9-13.

[10] HOULIHAN 2001: 229-231.

[11] GABRA & EATON-KRAUSS 2007: 41-42.

[12] EVANS 2012: 63.

[13] *Acts* 20: 29; *Mt.*10:16, *Lk.* 10:3.

[14] COOPER 2012: 513.

[15] *Is.* 13:.22.

[16] *Mic.* 1:8.

[17] FERGESON 1961: 18.

[18] *Song.* 12:15.

[19] *Tob.*6:1-2; 11:9.

at their feet[20]. Dogs symbolized the triumph of virtue over evilness and represented monks who were characterized by sincerity in following the right faith[21]. Nonetheless, they were symbols of humility in the Bible when David asked King Saul about the reason for chasing him: «*Against whom has the king of Israel come out? Who are you pursuing? A dead dog? A flea?*»[22]. Dogs might also symbolize evil powers: «*Dogs surround me, a pack of villains encircles me; they pierce my hands and my feet*»[23]. «*Deliver me from the sword, my precious life from the power of the dogs*»[24]. Dogs were symbols of obsequiousness: «*Do not give dogs what is sacred; do not throw your pearls to pigs*»[25] and signified social marginalization: «*It is not right to take the children's bread and toss it to the dogs*»[26]. One of the verses compares those who repeat their faults to dogs: «*As a dog return to its vomit, so fools repeat their folly*»[27]. They were considered among the scavengers[28].

According to the previously mentioned significance of the canines, the author chose the *cynocephalus* iconography, which is a combination of the canid head and the human body. This decision was made because it is among the unique iconographies that lasted from pharaonic Egypt to the Coptic period, despite the difference in the religious significance of the canine species and the vast change of iconography. The paper adopts the descriptive analytical method to highlight the continuity of the *cynocephalus* iconography from Ancient Egyptian to Coptic arts, its significance, and the deities or characters adopting this form.

II. *CYNOCEPHALI* IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND *GRECO*-ROMAN ARTS

1. Anubis

Anubis was the most important canine deity and was associated with death and burials before the rise of the cult of god *Osiris*[29]. The Greek name *Anubis* originated from *Inpw*[30]. There were many attempts to translate *Anubis*'s name; some suggestions connected his name to the word *npw* meaning «dog», but it might mean «royal child». Another suggestion relates to the verb *inp* in the Pyramid texts, i.e., «to decay» or «to lie down», which might refer to *Anubis* as the crouching one[31].

Anubis was referred to as the son of the cow goddess *Hesat* or the cat goddess *Bastet*. However, Plutarch suggested that his birth was from a sexual relation between *Nephthys* and *Osiris*, while *Isis* was in charge of his upbringingl this would make him the half-

[20] FERGESON 1961: 15.
[21] EVANS 2012: 67-68; FADEL 2022: 289.
[22] *1 Sam.* 24:14.
[23] *Ps.* 22:16.
[24] *Ps.* 22:20.
[25] *Mt.* 7:6.
[26] *Mt.* 15:26.
[27] *Prov.* 26:11.
[28] *2 Kgs* 9:10, 9:36.
[29] WILKINSON 2003: 190.
[30] VAN VOSS 1987: 330-331.
[31] HELCK & WESTENDORF 1975a: 327-333; VAN VOSS 1987: 330-331; WILKINSON 2003: 190.

brother of *Horus*[32]. Another theory, based on the Demotic magical papyrus, was that *Anubis* was the son of *Isis-Sekhmet* and *Osiris*[33]. *Anupet* of *Cynopolis* was his female counterpart, and the serpent goddess *Kebehut* was referred to as his daughter who helped him in the purification of the deceased[34].

The god *Anubis* was depicted in many forms, including the complete zoomorphic canid sitting on a shrine with extended legs and pointed ears to indicate his vigilance as a protector. He sometimes wore a collar or a ceremonial tie, or was shown with a *sekhem* scepter and/or a flail in his hands, which were the attributes of god *Osiris*. He was rarely depicted in complete anthropomorphic form but was mostly rendered as a *cynocephalus*[35]. Less common images of *Anubis* are the canid-headed snake, the canid-headed *bꜣ* bird, or a *genie*[36].

Anubis could be a wild dog, a jackal, or a hybrid animal of the two species. He had the long muzzle, round pupils, five-towed front feet and four-towed back feet, and the squab tail, all which were characteristic features of the jackal and other canines[37]. Black is an uncommon color for canines, so it might symbolize the afterlife and rejuvenation[38]. *Anubis* appears as a *cynocephalus* in many scenes showing his funerary roles, such as depicting him bending over the deceased's corpse while mummifying it or performing funerary rituals **[FIGURE 1]**[39].

[FIGURE 1]: *Anubis* in *Cynocephali* form making funerary rituals over the deceased, Tomb of *Siptah* (KV 47), Valley of the Kings, the 19th dynasty © Theban mapping project of the ARCE, https://thebanmappingproject.com/images/15609jpg?site=5910, accessed)01/09/2023)

Anubis was the one responsible for the protection of the necropolis, the preservation of the corpse, and making sure that the deceased gained a new spiritual body. He was usually depicted in the *cynocephali* form while performing the opening of the mouth ritual for the rebirth of the deceased **[FIGURES 2-3]**[40].

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[32] WILFONG 2015: 34.
[33] HELCK & WESTENDORF 1975a: 327-333.
[34] DUQUESENE 2005: 382.
[35] DOXEY 2001: 97-98.
[36] ʿABDAL-SALĀM 2021: 83.
[37] WILKINSON 1992: 65.
[38] WILKINSON 2003: 190.
[39] HART 1986: 22.
[40] Inv. Nrº.EA 9901,3. The British Museum. DOXEY 2001: 97-98.

[FIGURE 2]: *Anubis* in hybrid form embracing the mummy of *Hunefer* during the ritual of Opening the mouth Papyrus of *Hunefer*, the 19th dynasty © The British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA9901-5, accessed on (11/11/2023)

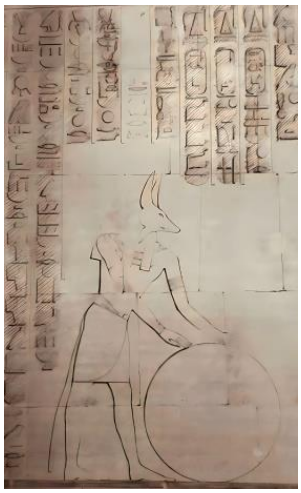
[FIGURE 3]: *Anubis*, as a *cynocephalus*, bending over the mummy of the deceased lying over the bed, touches the deceased's heart with one hand and while the other holds an adze to perform the opening of the mouth ritual. Tomb of *Nakhtamon* (TT 335), Deir el-Medinah, the 19th dynasty. The official site of the Osirisnet project for Egyptological publications, https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/nakhtamon335/e_nakhtamon335_05.htm, accessed on (12/11/2023)

He was also the deity responsible for guiding the deceased to the court of the last judgment. He would ask the deceased questions that were used to assess if the deceased could pass to the afterlife. He would also weigh the deceased's heart in front of *Maat*'s feather to ensure his fairness **[FIGURE 4]**[41].

[FIGURE 4]: *Anubis* in *cynocephali* form accompanying the deceased to the judgment court, balancing his heart against the feather of *Maat*. Papyrus of *Hunefer*, the 19th dynasty. The British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA9901-3, accessed on (12/11/2023)

[41] Nrº. EA 9901,3. The British Museum. DOXEY 2001: 97-98; WILKINSON 2003: 189.

Anubis was depicted as a canid-headed human in temples, often carrying or bending over a circular disk. This disk, possibly a sieve to support a woman during childbirth, is more likely a lunar disk, symbolizing rebirth and representing Anubis's gift to the newborn **[FIGURE 5]**[42].



[FIGURE 5]: *Anubis* bending over a lunar disk; Temple of *Hatshepsut* in Dair al-Bahari, 18th dynasty. WILFONG 2015: 27, FIG.33.

During the *Greco*-Roman period, *Anubis* was the son of *Isis* and *Serapis*[43]. The *cynocephalus* iconography of the god *Anubis* had continued into the Greco-Roman era, and his cult flourished during this period. His role as the chief embalmer **[FIGURE 6]** and as the protector of the necropolis, *Osiris,* and the deceased, continued **[FIGURE 7]**[44]. The cult of *Anubis* spread because of his connection with the goddess *Isis*. His images were added in the *mammisi* of the temples dating back to this period, and he was seen as a protector of the goddess during the birth of *Horus*. He was also depicted carrying a tambourine to amuse *Isis* and *Hathor* **[FIGURE 8]**[45]. Different attributes were added to the god *Anubis* during the *Greco*-Roman era because had become a cosmic deity, ruler of the sky and earth. He was believed to have mysterious wisdom that allowed him to bring light to humans. *Anubis* already had a distinguished role in Egyptian magic, and his magical role increased during this period. His images were added on amulets and magical gems that were used for protection and the promotion of good fortune. *Anubis'*s role also appears in Demotic and Greek magical papyri as a god of prophecy and a mediator between two worlds. The god *Hermes* was the messenger of the Hellenistic deities and a guide for the deceased to the afterlife. Thus, he was merged with *Anubis* and was given the name *Anubis-Hermes* or *Hermes-Anubis,* embodying the attributes of both gods[46].

[42] RITER 1985: 150-152; WINAND & et Al. 2016: 130.

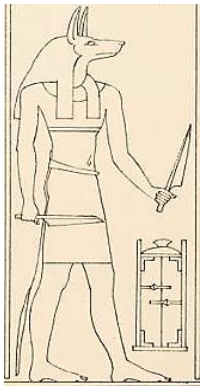
[43] WILKINSON 2003: 190.

[44] WILFONG 2015: 68.

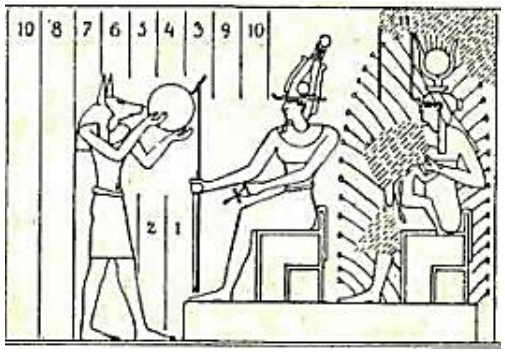
[45] WILKINSON 2003: 189.

[46] SIMPSON 2003: 92. STEFANOVIĆ 2004: 271-272.

[FIGURE 6]: Anubis as a cynocephalus embalming the body of Osiris. Cemetery of Kom al-Shuqafa, 1st or 2nd century AD. GUIMIER-SORBETS & EL-DIN 2017: 108.



[FIGURE 7]: *Anubis* in a hybrid form holding knives to protect *Osiris*; Dendera Temple. Ptolemaic period. CHRISTINA 2017: 51, FIG.50.



[FIGURE 8]: Anubis striking the tambourine to amuse Hathor/ Isis and her son. The *mammisi* of Edfu Temple, Ptolemaic period. CHASSINAT 1939: 18, PL.XIII.

He was sometimes depicted in a *cynocephali* form, dressed in military attire **[FIGURE 9]** or in Hellenic costumes **[FIGURE 10]**[47] while holding the attributes of *Hermes,* such as the caduceus as a symbol of the communication between the underworld, earth, sky, and the palm branch. The palm branch was a symbol of victory for the Greeks and the Romans, while for the Ancient Egyptians, it was a symbol of eternity. Thus, it was fitting for *Anubis* to hold it as a symbol of victory over death[48]. Some scholars believe that the *cynocephalus* form of *Anubis,* with the attributes of *Hermes,* is *Hermanubis while* others think that the

[47] Nrº. EA 36064. The British Museum.

[48] MALAISE 2014: 73-78.

complete anthropomorphic form of the deity with a dog at his feet is *Hermanubis*[49]. The name *Hermanubis* does not appear in any representations, but the name is mentioned in some Hellenic sources during Roman Egypt[50]. It seems that *Hermanubis* was only one of the many manifestations of Alexandrian and Roman *Anubis*[51].

[FIGURE 9]: *Anubis* in a hybrid form wearing military costumes. Cemetery of Kom al-Shuqafa, the 1st or 2nd century AD. MEROÑO & GALLARDO 2021: 192, FIG.2.

[FIGURE 10]: Statue of *Anubis* as a *cynocephalus* wearing a Greek tunic, holding a palm branch, and a broken caduceus, which are the attributes of Hermes © The British Museum; Roman Period, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA36064, accessed on (12/11/2023).

[49] Nrº.25785. The Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. Statue of a deity from al-Ras al-soda temple. The deity was depicted in a complete anthropomorphic form, wearing the *calathus* above his head and himation. He was holding a palm branch in one hand, while in the other, he was holding a caduceus, which is now lost. A small dog was represented beside his feet. Some scholars suggested that the statue was a manifestation of the god *Hermanubis*. SAVVOPOULOS & BIANCHI 2012: 166-167.

[50] MALAISE 2014, 73.

[51] STEFANOVIĆ 2004: 273.

2. Wepwawet

Wepwawet was a canine deity whose name means «Opener of the Ways»[52]. He used to be worshiped in Abydos as the son of *Osiris*. However, he was sometimes considered to be the son of *Isis* and *Shu*[53]. *Wepwawet* had secular and funerary roles as an opener of the body or the womb. He guided the king during wars, facilitated the ascension to the throne, lead ritual processions before the all of the gods and the king, and opened the deceased's eyes and mouth in «Opening the Mouth ceremony». He also guided the deceased in the netherworld, and marked the path for the sun's rise every morning[54].

Wepwawet was among the canine deities whose sacred animal was like *Anubis*, which might be a dog or a jackal. He was frequently depicted in canid form but was occasionally depicted in the *cynocephali* form with the head of a canid and a human body **[FIGURE 11]**[55].

[FIGURE 11]: The third register of the stela depicts King Wepwawetemsaf in front of Wepwawet in his form. The British Museum, the Second Intermediate Period. The British Museum; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA969, accessed on (12/11/2023).

Wepwawet's cult continued during the Greco-Roman era; a large number of mummies from this period were dedicated to him. They were sometimes identified as dogs or jackals[56]. The confusion surrounding his sacred animal dates to this era as he was the local deity of the thirteenth Nome of Upper Egypt, *Lycopolis* (The Town of Wolf), now known as Asyut. He continued to be depicted as a *cynocephalus* in this era, especially in scenes accompanying *Anubis*; they could not be distinguished from each other except through their names **[FIGURE 12]**[57].

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[52] DUQUESENE 2005: 390.

[53] HOUSER-WEGNER 2001: 496-497; WILKINSON 2003: 191-192.

[54] WILKINSON 2003: 191-192; WEGNER 2007: 140-141.

[55] Nrº. EA 969. The British Museum. WILKINSON 2003: 191-192.

[56] WEGNER 2007: 140-141.

[57] Nrº.EA 8468. The British Museum. HOUSER-WEGNER 2001: 496-497.

[FIGURE 12]: The third register of the stela depicts the donor in front of some deities, including *Wepwawet*. On the left side, he is preceded by *Anubis*; they are both depicted as *cynocephali*. *Stela* of *Neswy*, Ptolemaic Period. The British Museum; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA8468, accessed on (12/11/2023).

3. *Duamutef*

Duamutef was among the canine deities whose name means «He who adores his mother». He was one of the four sons of *Horus* who has been attested since the Old Kingdom until the Greco-Roman era. The four sons of Horus were responsible for the protection of the canopic jars and the internal organs kept inside them[58]. *Imesty*, with the human head, was responsible for the liver, *Hapy*, shown with a baboon head, is protector of the lungs, *Duamutef* was the jackal headed being responsible for the stomach, and *Kebehsenuef*, shown with a falcon head, protected the intestines. Sometimes, the responsibilities of *Hapy* and *Duamutef* were switched[59]. They were also responsible for helping the deceased to reach the sky and protect the cardinal directions. *Duamutef* protected the east[60].

Duamutef was mostly depicted with the canine head, and served as a lid for the Canopic jars. However, he was sometimes depicted in the *cynocephali* form with the canine head and human body[61]. He was mostly represented standing with the three other sons of *Horus* **[FIGURE 13]**. *Anubis* sometimes appeared with them, as he was the deity responsible for the protection of the canopic chest that held the canopic jars[62].

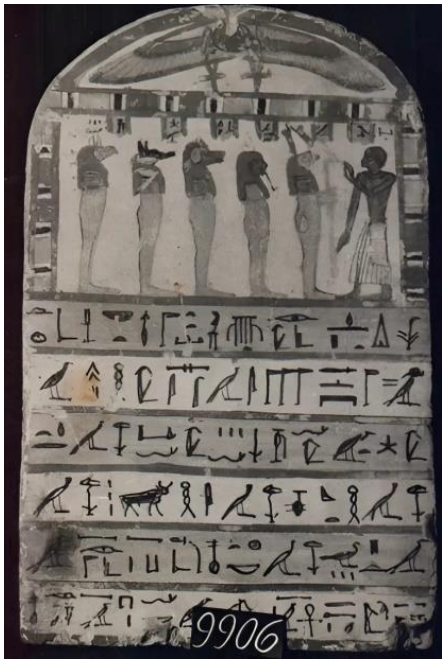
[58] WILFONG 2015: 22.

[59] DODSON 2001: 561-563.

[60] WILFONG 2015: 20.

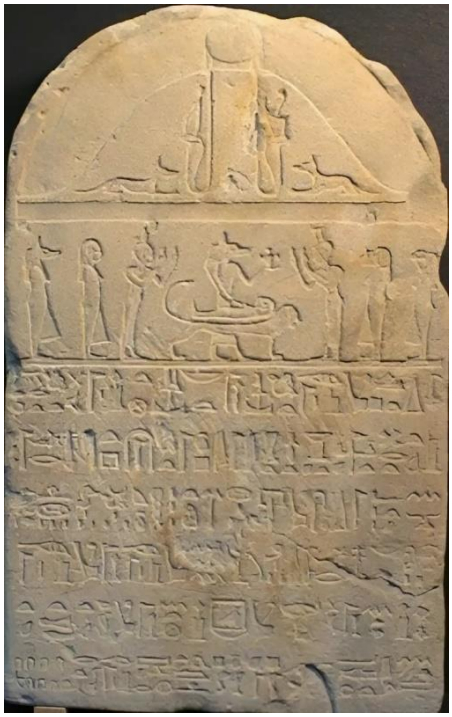
[61] WILKINSON 2003: 88-89.

[62] Inv. Nrº. JE18651. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo. WILFONG 2015: 20.



[FIGURE 13]: *Hor-Nakht* adores *Rehorakhty* and the four sons of Horus, among them Duamutef in *the cynocephali* form. Stella of Hor-Nakht, Thebes, 25th dynasty. ABDELMAGUID 2015: 77, PL.1.

The importance of *Duamutef* continued into the Greco-Roman era, along with other canine deities. His image, with the other sons of *Horus*, was added to funerary artifacts from this period until the fourth century **[FIGURE 14]**[63].



[FIGURE 14]: *Anubis*, as a *cynocephalus*, mummifies the corpse and is accompanied by the four sons of *Horus; among* them, *Duamutef* is depicted in the hybrid form with a canine's head. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Buxelles, End of the Ptolemaic Period, https://rb.gy/44thev, accessed on (28/11/2023).

[63] Nrº. E8242. Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Buxelles. WILFONG 2015: 68.

4. *Anupet*

Anupet was the female counterpart of *Anubis*, who was worshiped in the 17th Nome of Upper Egypt. Her cult started at the beginning of the 4th dynasty. She was like *Anubis* because she was connected with the moon and was considered to be a protector of the 17th lunar day[64]. *Anupet* was protected *Osiris* from his enemies, and used her sharp teeth to kill Seth[65].

Anupet was not often represented in art. However, her best known iconography was of a woman wearing a standard surmounted by a jackal,[66] or less frequently, as a canine suckling young puppy, a complete jackal, a lion-headed jackal, or a hippopotamus with the head of a dog[67]. She has only appeared in the temple of Dendera in *the cynocephalus* form with a woman's body and a canid's head **[FIGURE 15]**[68].

[FIGURE 15]: *Anupet* as a *cynocephalus* holding knives for the protection of *Osiris*. Dendera Temple, Ptolemaic period. CAUVILLE 1934: PL.X 92.

5. *Nekhen*

The souls of *Nekhen* (Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt) were represented with canines' heads, and *Pe* souls were depicted with falcon's heads (Buto in Lower Egypt). They were the spirits of the ancestral rulers of Egypt. The powerful spirits of *Nekhen* and *Pe* were related to the West, and were the ones who helped the king during his life and after his death ascend to the sky[69]. The spirits of *Nekhen* and *Pe* were depicted making the *Henu*

[64] KAMEL 2007: 8.

[65] DUQUESENE 2005: 403-404.

[66] Nrº. JE40619. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo. *Anupet* was depicted as a female with a jackal on a standard above her head in one of the triads of *Menkaura,* with the King and goddess *Hathor* personifying the Nome of *Cynopolis.* The 4th dynasty, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Nrº. JE 40679. HAWASS 2001: 52-53.

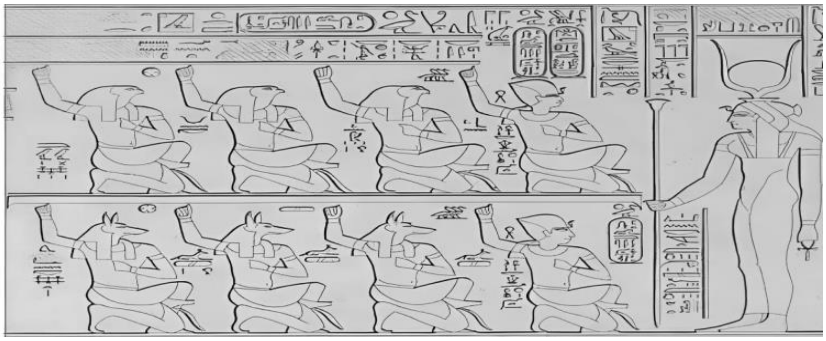
[67] KAMEL 2007: 8.

[68] WILKINSON 2003: 190; HELCK & WESTENDORF 1975b: 163.

[69] MAGDY 2021: 98-99.

gesture to rejoice the solar boat's arrival **[FIGURE 16]**[70]. They are represented accompanying the king in front of a deity on the walls of Ptolemaic temples **[FIGURE 17]**[71].

[FIGURE 16]: The king between the *cynocephalus* spirit of *Nekhen* and the falcon-headed spirit of *Pe* making the *Henu* gesture. Tomb of. Ramses I (KV 16), Valley of the kings, 19th dynasty. The official site of the Osirisnet project for Egyptological publications, https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/ramses1/e_ramses1_02.htm, accessed on (28/11/2023).



[FIGURE 17]: The falcon-headed souls of *Pe* and the *cynocephalus* souls of *Nekhen* are following King Ptolemy VI while making the *Henu* gesture in front of goddess Isis. Temple of Phiale, Ptolemaic period. MAGDY 2021: 111, FIG.11.

6. The *Cynocephali Genii* or Demons

The Ancient Egyptians believed in two types of genii: protective spirits that safeguarded individuals and malevolent genii that caused harm and diseases. Among these protective *genii*, those who were responsible for the protection of the doors leading to the afterlife; the deceased could pass through these doors as long as they were able to name the door and its guardian. They were supernatural creatures who were intermediaries between deities and beings. They resembled the gods but had more specific tasks. These demons could take different hybrid iconographies, such as birds, insects, or animals' heads and human bodies. Among these forms was the *cynocephalus* demon **[FIGURE 18]**, but it is difficult to associate certain animal heads with a demon, as each guardian could embody different forms[72].

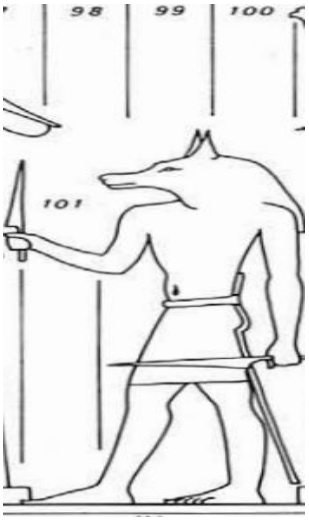
[70] DEQUENSE 2012: 12.

[71] MAGDY 2021: 103.

[72] LUCARELLI 2010: 86-87.

[FIGURE 18]: The *cynocephali* demon guardian of the ninth door holding a knife. Tomb of *Sennedjem* (TT 1), Thebes, 19th dynasty. The official site of the Osirisnet project for Egyptological publication; https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/sennedjem1/e_sennedjem1_01.htm, accessed on (26/11/2023)

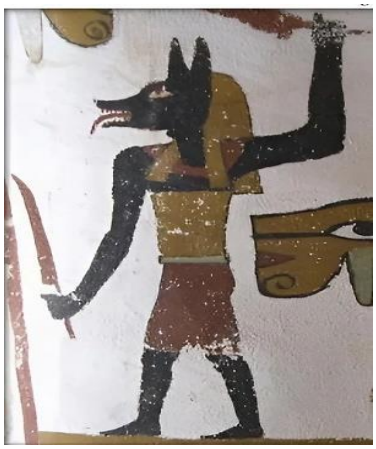
During the Greco-Roman era, the protective *genii* continued to protect the gates of the Netherworld, and their images were added to the walls of the tombs and temples **[FIGURE 19]**. The acceptance of the *genii* or demons during this period relied on their presence in Hellenistic and Roman beliefs as protectors of the deceased, which were consistent with Ancient Egyptian beliefs[73]. The protective power of the *genie* was mingled with *Anubis*'s role. Accordingly, in very rare scenes from this period, *Anubis* was depicted in the form of a *cynocephalus genie* **[FIGURE 20]**[74].



[FIGURE 19]: *A cynocephalus* demon holding knives. Dendera temple. Ptolemaic period. CAUVILLE 1934: PL. X 196.

[73] LUCARELLI 2011: 120. ʿABDAL-SALĀM 2021: 80-81.

[74] ʿABDAL-SALĀM 2021: 80-81.



[FIGURE 20]: *Anubis* as a *cynocephalus genie* holding knives. Badi Bastet tomb, al-Mazouka, Dakhla Oasis. ʿABDAL-SALĀM 2021: 80-81, PL.31.

While there were other canine deities, they were more often mentioned in texts than depicted in imagery. Although categorized as canine, some lacked distinct iconography and were represented only in fully anthropomorphic form. They were considered counterparts, identifiers, or diminutives of the great canine deities. The god *Khentiamentiu* was a funerary deity whose name means «Foremost of Westerners». He appeared firstly with the title of *Anubis*, then as a separate deity, and finally as the title of *Osiris* until he was completely replaced by *Osiris*. God *Wepiu*'s name means «Judger, divider or opener». He could be a diminutive of *Wepwawet*, but he appeared in some Pyramid and Coffin text spells as a separate deity: as an opener of the gates in front of the king. The god *Sed* was a jackal deity who was independent or connected with *Wepwawet* and *Anubis*. He was associated with *Ma'at* as a supporter of justice, and was called «the foremost of his court». *Hereret* was the female counterpart of *Wepwawet*. Her name was mentioned in warfare texts, indicating her role as a warrior goddess like *Wepwawet*. During the Greco-Roman era, a three-headed monster called *Cerberus* was identified with the god *Anubis*. He was responsible for guarding *Hades* and preventing the deceased souls from leaving[75].

III. *CYNOCEPHALI* IN COPTIC ART

Cynocephali images from Ancient Egyptian art probably inspired the Byzantine and Christian worlds. This iconography continued in Coptic art as different characters were depicted as dog-headed humans[76].

1. Saint Christopher

Many sources wrote about Saint Christopher, who became a popular Saint in Egypt in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Latin accounts describe him as the son of a pagan king whose wife was blessed by the Virgin Mary, enabling her to conceive a son named *Offerus* or *Reprobus.* He became very powerful and was intended to serve only the most powerful beings in the world. He served a mighty king and Satan. After serving them for

[75] WILKINSON 2003: 191; DUQUESENE 2005: 390, 401-405; WILFONG 2015: 64.

[76] WILFONG 2015: 79.

some time, he discovered that both had fears; the king lacked courage and Satan was afraid of the cross. Then, *Offerus* searched for a new master, which was when he found a hermit who talked to him about Christ. So, *Offerus* felt that Christ could be his master. He became a believer of Christ and was baptized with the name Christopher, i.e., Bearer of Christ. Saint Christopher's new name was given to him because he was a traveler and ferryman. He was famous for carrying people for God's sake. One day, Saint Christopher encountered a child and carried him across the river. As he walked, he felt the child grow heavier, as if he were carrying the whole world. The child ordered him to fix his staff in the ground, which by the next morning had been miraculouslytransformed into a palm tree. The child he carried grew up and revealed himself to be Christ. Many of St. Christopher's icons depict him as a man carrying a child on his shoulders. Saint Christopher performed many miracles that converted people to Christianity, until he was sent to prison in Antioch, where he was tortured and beheaded[77].

Some fifth to the eighteenth century icons of Saint Christopher depict him in the *cynocephalus* form. The oldest icon dates to the reign of Justinian and was found in the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Mount Sinai[78]. Probably, the earliest icons of Saint Christopher were destroyed by the iconoclasts[79].

There were various interpretations of the representation of Saint Christopher with the *cynocephalus* form. One interpretation from Ethiopian manuscripts, which date back to the fourteenth century, explain that Saint Christopher was from the Marmaritae tribe, who were area in modern Libya. The manuscripts also mentioned that he was imprisoned by the Romans who believed that the Marmaritae tribe were cannibals; this might explain his Saint Christopher's hybrid appearance[80]. Another reason was that Satin Christopher's Canaanite origin was confused with the Latin word «*canineus*» which means dog. Another interpretation suggests that Saint. Christopher's portrayal may refer to Recklinghausen's disease, a human disorder characterized by the growth of tumors[81].

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[77] STEFANOVIĆ 2013: 509-511.

[78] Icon of Saint Christopher as a *cynocephalus* holding a cross with a halo surrounding his head. From Cappadocia, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens BXM 01571. Byzantine and Christian Museum. AMEISENOWA 1949: 42; https://www.ebyzantinemuseum.gr/?i = bxm.en.exhibit&id=59, accessed on (26/11/2023).

[79] Iconoclasm is a movement that happened during the eighth and the ninth centuries. It was started by Emperor Leo III (717-741) who opposed the icons and issued two decrees that prohibited their veneration and ordered their destruction. However, the most violent movement against the iconodules was during the reign of his son, Constantine V (741-775), who was considered the leader of the iconoclasts. He launched an offensive violent campaign against them and the icons. Then, he was followed by his son Leo IV (775-780). After his death, his wife Irene of Athens (780-797) ruled and called for the seventh Ecumenical council in Nicaea in 787, which successfully upheld the veneration of the icons. However, the iconoclast's movement did not end until the reign of Theodora (842-855), who restored the veneration of icons in 842. MENELAOU 2017: 50-52.

[80] MALAISE 2014: 93.

[81] STEFANOVIĆ 2013: 510-511.

Another opinion is that the icons of Saint Christopher seemed to be an influenced by *Anubis*'s iconography since they shared some attributes. Just as *Anubis* and *Hermes* were seen as conductors of deceased souls to the afterlife, Saint Christopher protected Christian believers from sudden death[82].

The image of *Anubis* raising the lunar disc of Osiris symbolized resurrection. This image connects the icons of Saint Christopher carrying Christ to Ancient Egyptian beliefs, where Osiris was the god of resurrection. Similarly, in Christian beliefs, Jesus is a figure symbolizing resurrection[83]. Saint Christopher also shared attributes with *Hermanubis* or the Roman *Anubis*, such as the military costumes and the palm branch[84]. Another interpretation links the *cynocephalus* iconography to a mix-up by Coptic hagiographers, who confused *cynocephali* creatures with the satyrs of the Greek mythology[85].

2. *Ahrakas* and *Oghani*

The Coptic Museum has an icon that depicts two *cynocephali* saints with halos framing their heads **[FIGURE 21]**. Their names, *Ahrakas* and *Oghani*, are written above their heads, and they might be the *cynocephali* servants of Saint Mercurius[86]. Saint Mercurius's father and grandfather were skilled hunters, but one day while hunting, they faced two cannibals who devoured the saint's grandfather. Fortunately, his father was rescued by the angel of the god **[FIGURE 22]**[87]. The cannibals found themselves surrounded by fire, which transformd them into tamed lambs, who then followed Saint Mercurius's father and remained with him until the birth of Philopator. Saint Mercurius (Philopator) became a soldier in the army, and the cannibals, after converting to Christianity, followed him[88].

[FIGURE 21]: Icon of the two *cynocephali* saints, *Ahrakas* and *Oghani*. Coptic Museum in Cairo, 18th century. FADEL 2022: 290, FIG. 36.

[82] AMEISENOWA 1949: 44.

[83] RITER 1985: 154; MILLARD 1987: 237-238; STEFANOVIĆ 2013: 511-512.

[84] STEFANOVIĆ 2013: 511-512.

[85] PIANKOFF 1942: 24.

[86] Nrº.3375. The Coptic Museum in Cairo. STEFANOVIĆ 2013: 506-514.

[87] BOLMAN & GODEAU 2002: 113-116, FIG.7.19.

[88] BASSET 1909: 337.

[FIGURE 22]: Two cannibals devouring Saint Mercurius's grandfather. Monastery of Saint Antony at the Red Sea, 12th – 13th century. BOLMAN & GODEAU 2002: 113-116, FIG.7.19.

3. *Cynocephali* with Saint Andrew

The apostles of Christ were sent throughout the world to preach. Andrew was sent to a land called Kalbin, which the Syrians called the land of the dogs[89]. When Saint Andrew arrived to the town's streets ,he saw a crowd of people barking like dogs. He ran away, but after seeing a vision of Christ, Saint Andrew returned to the town. He saw the cannibals barking, and with the sign of the cross, the people's hands, legs, and tongues shriveled. Some of the messengers went to the king of the town, who begged Saint Andrew to heal the populace. After the destruction of the idols, the king and the people of the town were baptized, and they were transformed from *cynocephali* into the beauty of the children of light **[FIGURE 23]**[90].

[89] There are many myths related to the origin of the *cynocephali* population; among them was the oldest myth that is from the Fezzân area near Gartûn in Libya. There was an area called *Bār al-Kilāb*/ *Wādī al-Kīlāb* (region of the dogs), in which dogs lived on one side of the river and humans on the other side. Along the *wadi*, there was a kind of thorn in which humans could pass but the dogs could not. One day a woman decided to pass the river and went to live with the dogs. A dog possessed her and she became pregnant with the first *cynocephalus* creature. There are other versions of this story from this region, including one in which men change to dogs during dusk or by rolling in ashes. It is believed that *cynocephali* were widespread in antiquity in the areas of Libya, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Herodotus was the first one to mention the *cynocephalus* in the 7th century BC and their presence in eastern Libya. The apocryphal life of Saint Bartholomew recounts that he was sent to preach alongside Saint Andrew in the lands of Berbers where they were protected from wild beasts under the protection of the *cynocephalus*. This suggests that the area was located in northern Africa. PIANKOFF 1942: 18-19; D'HUY 2013: 108-110.

[90] VAN ESBROECK 1999: 32-34; INNEMÉE 2016: 28.

[FIGURE 23]: A scene of Saint Andrew preaching in the land Kalbin. The populace before baptism in *the cynocephali* form and after baptism with human features. Monastery of the Syrians in Wādī Natrūn, probably from the 10th century. INNEMÉE 2016: 28, FIGS.24-25.

IV. CONCLUSION

The iconography of the *cynocephalus* emerged from the Ancient Egyptian religion. The acceptance of the hybrid form featuring a canine head and human body was due to the veneration of the animals, especially canines, reflecting a belief in their equality with human beings. The importance of *cynocephalus* iconography can be attributed to the prominence of canine deities in the Ancient Egyptian pantheon, which were considered to be chthonic creatures belonging to the lands of the living and the land of the dead. Moreover, they were associated with the sacred concepts of death and resurrection since the Predynastic period, as canines were often linked to the practice of exhuming animals from tombs. Canine deities were depicted as *cynocephali* performing different funerary roles, such as mummifying the deceased and protecting the corpse and tomb. They guided the deceased in his journey to the afterlife and opened the sky in front of him. The choice of the hybrid form aimed to blend the qualities of the animal with the human behaviors.

Cynocephalus iconography continued throughout the Greco-Roman era due to the incorporation of Ancient Egyptian beliefs with Hellenic ideas. Although the Hellenic Egyptians rejected zoomorphic or hybrid representations of their deities, worship of canine gods persisted, particularly that of *Anubis.* During this period, Anubis's cult flourished, and he gained a new role as a cosmic deity, ruling over the sky and earth. The cult of the god *Anubis* extended beyond the borders of Egypt. He was synchronized with the Greek god Hermes, who was also a both were *psychopomp* deity, and adopted some of his attributes. Other cults for Ancient canine deities continued into this era. They also retained their *cynocephali* iconography. Other deities, such as the goddess *Anupet*, the female counterpart of *Anubis,* adopted this distinctive iconography during this time.

Ancient Egyptian art left behind an extensive and opulent iconographic legacy that was incorporated into later Coptic art. This influence was seen in *cynocephalus* iconography, but Coptic artists were inspired by other significant motifs and depictions as well. For instance, the maternity and suckling scenes of *Isis* and *Horus* inspired similar

images of the Virgin Mary and Christ, and representations of *Horus* fighting with *Seth* parallel depictions of warrior saints conquering dragons. The common iconographical associations of canines in Christian ideology were corruption, humility, subservience, destruction, evilness, and sin. However, dogs sometimes signified watchfulness and loyalty. The diverse symbolism associated with canines led to a profound shift in the significance of *cynocephalus* iconography within Coptic art. However, hybrid representations of animal-headed humans were rare in Coptic art, unlike in Ancient Egyptian iconography.

In Coptic art, the *cynocephali* were portrayed as sinful individuals or cannibalistic beings, such as in the mural painting of Saint Andrew and the cannibals of Saint Mercurius. The representation of the cannibals in the *cynocephalus* form was probably due to the canine nature of eating human flesh. This connection mirrors the choice of canine-headed deities as gods of death and resurrection in Ancient Egypt given their tendency to exhume tombs while searching for corpses.

However, a unique and untraditional iconography was the depiction of saints in *cynocephali* form, such as Saint Christopher, *Ahrakas*, and *Oghani*. This representation could refer to the Christian belief of accepting all people, despite their past, nature, or features. The distinctive representation of *cynocephali* may have roots in Ancient Egyptian iconography, particularly that of Anubis and other *cynocephali* creatures. Notably, Saint Christopher, the first saint depicted in this form, shares characteristics with *Anubis*/ *Hermanubis*, including their connection to death, resurrection, similar costumes, and palm branch symbolism. *Cynocephalus* iconography probably persisted in Coptic and Byzantine arts from the fifth to the eighteenth centuries. The enduring representation over thirteen centuries reflects the widespread integration fo these themes into the artists' intuitive practices. Despite the prohibition of Ancient Egyptian paganist beliefs and the domination of Christianity in the Byzantine Empire, Ancient Egyptian art remained an effective inspirational source for Coptic art. Ancient Egyptian iconographies continued to thrive in Coptic heritage, even beyond Egypt's borders. However, the controversy surrounding this idea arose from the tension between Ancient Egyptian heritage and Christian dogma. Thus, *cynocephalus* iconography was no longer related to deities but to saints, cannibals, and sinners. Finally, it is important to note that *cynocephalus* iconography was a unique phenomenon , appearing infrequently in Coptic art.

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UNPUBLISHED COPTIC AUTHORIZING PAYMENT LETTER IN THE COPTIC MUSEUM

BY

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **خطاب تفويض بالدفع في المتحف القبطى**

تهدف هذة الورقة البحثية إلى نشر ودراسة أوستراكون قبطى غير منشور حُفظ أولًا في المتحف المصري برقم JE 54959 وحاليًا محفوظ في المتحف القبطي في مصر القديمة برقم O Coptic Museum 4555 الأوستراكون ضمن مجموعة الأوستراكا المكتشفة بواسطة عالم المصريات الأمريكي هيربيرت وينلوك في مكب نافيل لصالح بعثة حفائر متحف المتروبوليتان بالدير البحري بديسبوليس ماجنا - طيبة الغربية عام 1929. ترجع أهمية هذا الأوستراكون أنه من بقايا مكب إدوارد نافيل الذى اغفل عنه الكثيرين ولم يحظ بأى اهتمام علمي فيما قبل. الأوستراكون عبارة عن قطعة من الحجر الجيرى كتبت على وجه واحد باللهجة الصعيدية في 11سطرًا بالحبر الأسود. الأستراكون في حالة جيدة, بها الكثير من الفجوات على الجانب الأيسر والجزء العلوي من النص مقطوع, الحبر باهت في كثير من الأماكن. نص الأوستراكون عبارة عن خطاب من مالك أرض يفوض شخص آخر لزراعتها على أن يتقاسما إنتاجها بينهما مناصفًة. نص الأستراكون يُعد بمثابة نموذج للخطابات القانونية في الفترة المعروفة بفترة القانون القبطي. تباعًا لذلك وطبقًا للمقارنات اللغوية تبين أن خطابات التفويض اخذت عدة انماط من حيث الصيغ الإفتتاحية والختامية والمتن. تنوعت الصيغ ما بين القبطية واليونانية من قبل الكاتب الذي كان مدربًا على الكتابة بكلا اللغتين لكي يتمكن من صياغة العقد المُقدم الي محكمة أرمنت مركز الإجراءات القضائية آنذاك. تباعًا لذلك ووفقًا للدراسة الخطية, الصيغ النصية, المحتوي والنصوص المقارنة فإن هذا الأوستراكون يؤرخ في الفترة ما بين القرنين السابع والثامن الميلادي.

[EN] This paper aims to publish an unpublished Coptic *ostracon* that is currently kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, Nrº. O. Coptic Museum 4555. The *ostracon* was originally conserved in the Egyptian Museum, Nrº. JE54959. This *ostracon* is part of a group of *ostraca* that was found in Naville's dump by American Egyptologist Herbert Winlock during the 1929 excavation mission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Dair al-Bahari in Despolis Magna - Western Thebes. Because it is one of the remnants of Naville's dump, which was previously ignored by many and did not receive any scientific attention, this *ostracon* is significant. The *ostracon* is a limestone slab with 11 lines of black ink written on one side in Sahidic dialect. Although the *ostracon* is in good condition, there are many gaps on the left side. Also, the upper portion of the text is missing, and the ink has faded in many places. The *ostracon* is a letter written by a landowner granting authorization for someone else to sow, on the condition that they divide the harvest equally between them. During the so-called Coptic Law period, legal discourses were modeled after the *ostracon* text. Linguistic comparisons reveal that the writer, who was trained to write in both languages so that he could draft the contract submitted to the Armant Court– then the center of judicial procedures at the time– used a variety of styles for the opening, closing and body formulas of the authorization letters. Based on the paleography, formula, and content, the *ostraca* can be dated to the 7th–8th centuries AD.

KEYWORDS: Authorizing, Dair al-Bahari, Neville's dump, O. Coptic Museum 4555, payment Letter, Winlock.

I. INTRODUCTION

The *ostracon* from Naville's dump is published in this paper. Before its transfer to the Coptic Museum in Cairo, the *ostracon* was assigned the Inv. Nrº.JE 54959 while it was stored in the Egyptian Museum. Because this *ostracon* came from Naville's dump, I decided to publish it this for the first time for two very essential reasons: First, there has been some confusion as to its provenance. Second, It has received little scholarly attention of any kind to date.

1- The Archaeological Discovery [FIGURES 1-2]

In the late nineteenth century, Edouard Naville worked at Dair al-Bahari for the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) in London, the predecessor of the Egyptian Exploration Society. During his excavations, he dismantled various Coptic structures, including the monastery of Saint Phoibammon, which were located next to Queen Hatshepsut's terrace temple. Unfortunately, he did not document this work. The only items he preserved were the Coptic *ostraca* discovered during the excavation. These were collected and eventually divided according to partage, between the Egyptian Antiquities Service and the EEF. The collections ended up in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the British Museum in London[1]. Naville's dump was re-excavated by Herbert Winlock in 1926-1929[2]. Following the EEF 's surrender of its concession for Dair al-Bahari, excavations were overseen by Winlock at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) in New York. During the 1927-1928 campaign, when he ordered the clearing of the waste dump from the EEF excavation, Coptic *ostraca* were discovered. Although over a thousand inscriptions were discovered, they were not nearly as intact as the fragments that Naville managed to recover. This lead Winlock to believe that Naville had also discovered them, but had thrown them aside due to their bad condition[3]. In 1929, Winlock coordinated with the Egyptian Antiquities Service to send all the *ostraca* collected from Naville's dump to CRUM in England. This was done so CRUM could record vocabulary for his dictionary project[4]. Harry Burton, the expedition's photographer, photographed the *ostraca* discovered from the dump before they left Egypt, and a series of prints was delivered to CRUM. Because he was working on his Coptic dictionary, he had asked his colleagues to forward him any texts in the language that they might come across. For his own reasons, CRUM had removed the *ostraca* from the dump, but did not duplicate them for publication[5]. Burton's photographs would prove invaluable to later scholars' attempts to identify these *ostraca* and to establish provenance[6]. In April 1930, five boxes of unknown size and containing Coptic *ostraca*

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[1] KRAUSE 2010: 63.

[2] Winlock noted that the team's initial task for the season was to finish clearing away the remaining debris from Naville's work and to explore the rest of the quarry. WINLOCK 1929: 3.

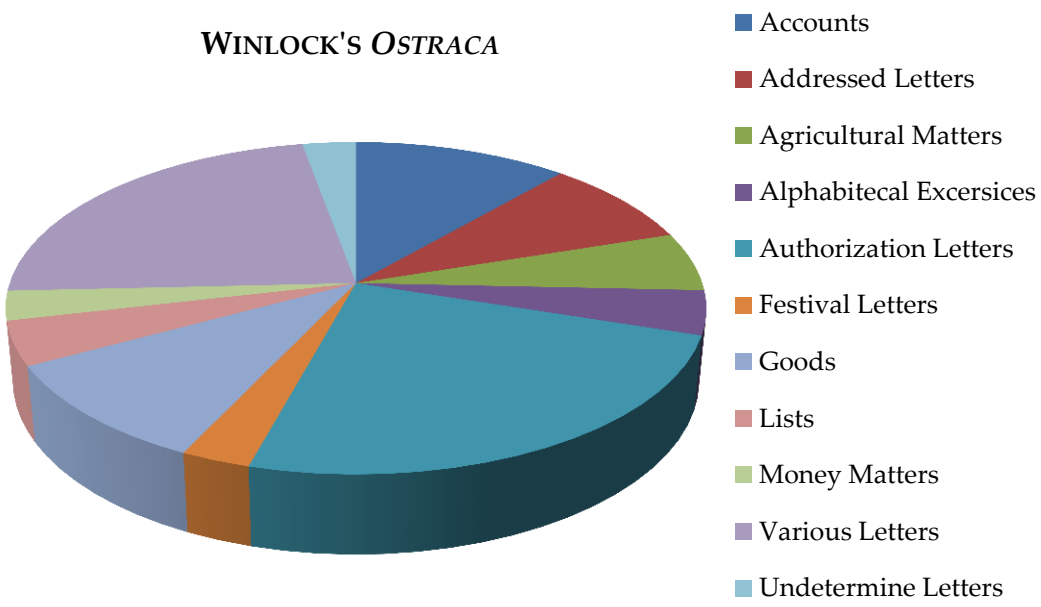
[3] The team's efforts were rewarded by the discovery of an important lot of Coptic *ostraca*. O'CONNELL 2006: 123; KRAUSE 2010: 64.

[4] According to the letter from Crum to Winlock dated March 13, 1928, MMA Egyptian Department Archive, and the letter from Crum to Winlock dated August 7, 1929, MMA Egyptian Department Archive. The abbreviation «Win» is used in the dictionary to identify *ostraca* from Winlock's excavation 1927-1928 in the Cairo Museum. CRUM 1939: 378, 384, 799; O'CONNELL 2006: 124, Nº.50.

[5] KRAUSE 2010: 64.

[6] O'CONNELL 2006: 124.

arrived in New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) has no documentation confirming that the texts contained in those five boxes are the same as those excavated at Dair al-Bahri, but the following circumstantial evidence suggests that at least three boxes contained texts from the dump. Firstly, Schiller wrote to CRUM in a letter dated October 7, 1930 to ask whether he should bother to read the contents of the three crates of ostraca that Winlock had brought back from the «rubbish mound». Secondly, in 1957 Krause Becker published fourteen figured ostraca from the MMA's collection[7]. Her article gives a brief account of their excavation from Naville's dump at Dair al-Bahari and of their appearance in the Burton photographs[8]. In 1930, some of these ostraca went to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and some to the MMA in New York. Seventy-seven of the *ostraca* from Naville's dump were eventually transferred from the Egyptian Museum to the Coptic Museum in Cairo, where they were assigned Nr^{o}.4552-4629[9]. One may refer to the classification chart of Winlock's ostraca in Coptic Museum**[CHART 1] .**

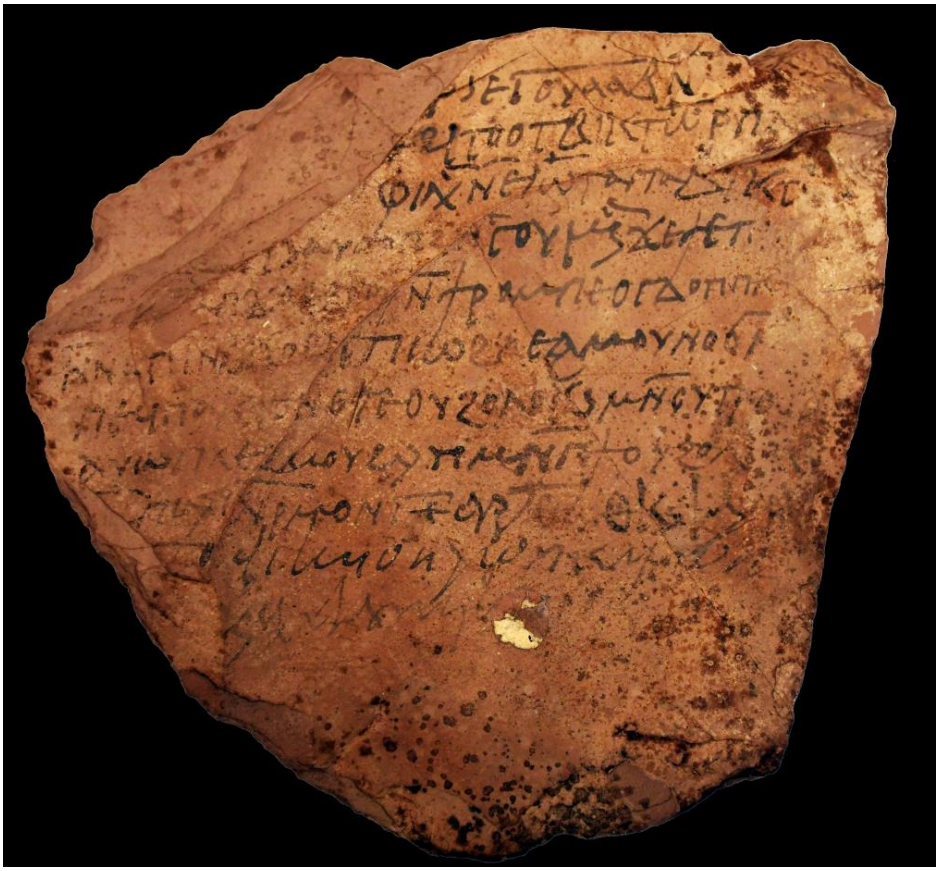


[CHART 1]: Winlock's *Ostraca* in the Coptic Museum in Cairo © Done by the researcher

[7] KRAUSE-BECKER 1957: 357-358.

[8] KRAUSE 2010: 64.

[9] KRAUSE 2010: 65.



[FIGURE 1]: A. O. Coptic Museum 4555; B.
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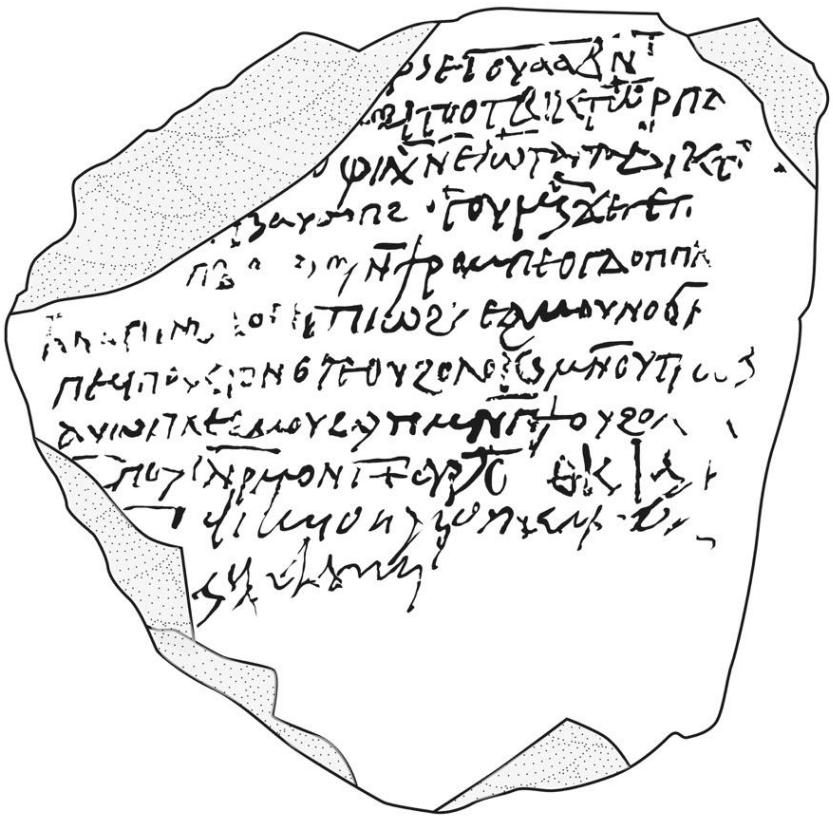

[FIGURE 2]: Facsimile of O. Coptic Museum 4555 © Done by the researcher

2- The Authorizing Contracts

The authorizing contracts are a type of legal document in Coptic law. Most of these contracts date between the 7th to 8th centuries AD. Schiller refers to this period from the year 641 AD until the tenth century AD as the Coptic Law Period[10]. The legal documents that have been preserved for us show that the overall formulation of the Coptic legal documents was influenced by their Greek counterparts. This applies not only to the terms but also to the formulas and structures of these documents[11]. Naturally, all legal terms used in Coptic documents, whether written in Greek or Coptic, underwent some modifications and changes after the Copts borrowed them[12]. Because these contracts are classified under private law, MACCAULL argues that the clerk was present during the contract writing process. According to the texts, the employers paid the contract registrar to write them; occasionally, the employers wrote the texts themselves, and at other times, a priest would (compared with KRU 67,106). The contract's division also included the witnesses in its concluding section[13]]].

II. TEXT

INV.NRº. O. Coptic Museum 4555	**Provenance: Dair al Bahri (Luxor)**
Material: White Limestone	**Dimensions: 13.5.3 ×14.1 cm**
Date: 7th – 8th cent	**Dialect: Sahidic**
Condition: Good	**Catalogue: PL.1, FIG.1.**

The text is an authorization payment letter dated between the 7th and 8th centuries AD, based on division dates. The text is written on one side. The script is skilled and slanted; the size of the letters is somewhat irregular; note the ligature ⲉⲧ, ⲧⲣ in ⲉⲧⲣⲓ (**l.6**); the scribe used diacritical signs (circumflex, abbreviation, and apostrophe). The top left portion of the text is broken off.[14] The text can be restored completely and almost all letters are ligatured. The ⲙ has two shapes. The script of the last two lines looks different from the main script, and have could been done by another hand. The difficult construction in the last two lines (**Ll.10-11**) makes it somewhat unclear, but I tried to reconstruct it by comparing similar texts.

The text belongs to the *epitropê* documents. According to the *epitropê formula*, the issuer/owner authorizes somebody to sow a plot of his estate. The *epitropê* formula is a legal formula for land-leasing, which is attested in the 7th-8th centuries from the Hermonthis provenance, a major source of legal documents[15].

[10] SCHILLER 1931: 2.
[11] COCKLE 1984: 113ff; ZEIHUER 2000: 2.
[12] STENFANSKI 1952: 2.
[13] MACCOULL 1991: 1428.
[14] BROWN 2009: 216.
[15] RICHTER 2018: 206.

1 [ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏ]ⲣ(ⲓⲟⲛ)ⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛ̄[ⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ]

2 [ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟ]ⲧ ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲁ[ⲁⲙⲡⲣ(ⲱⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ)]

3 [ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ ⲡⲧⲓⲙⲓⲱⲧ(ⲁⲧⲟⲥ) ⲡⲁ]ⲫⲓⲗ(ⲉⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ) ⲛ̂ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧ[ⲱⲣ]

4 [ⲡⲣⲉⲥ]ⲃ(ⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲥⲏⲅⲟⲩⲙ(ⲉⲛⲟⲥ) ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲓ[ⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉ]

5 [ⲛⲁⲕ ⲥⲙ̄] ⲡⲭⲟ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲟⲅⲁⲟ(ⲁⲥ) ⲡⲡⲕ[ⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ]

6 ⲡⲛⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲡⲟⲭⲟⲱⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲓ ⲯⲓⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲓ

7 ⲡⲉⲫⲡⲁⲕⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲟⲗⲟⲕⲩ(ⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ) ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲓⲙ(ⲏⲥⲓⲟⲛ)

8 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲱⲡ ⲙ ⲛⲅⲧ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲗⲟⲕ(ⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ)

9 ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲗ(ⲓⲥ)˛ ⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲟⲛⲧ ⲧ ⲉⲩⲥⲧ(ⲁⲑⲓⲟ)ⲥ ⲕⲑ ⲓⲛ̅ⲇ(ⲓⲕⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ)

10 ⲫⲓ... ⲙⲙⲟ... ⲁⲩⲱ ...

11 ⲁⲩⲱ ...

1 μοναστήριον||2-3λαμπρότατος||3 τιμιώτατος||3 φιλέστατος||4 πρεσβύτερος||4 ἡγούμενος||4 ἐπιτροπή||

5 ὀγδοάς||5 καρπός||6 πνεῦμα||6 ἀποχομωρίζω||6 ψενομοῦς||7 πάκτον||7 ὁλοκόττινος||7 τριμήσιον||

9 πολίς ||9 Ἀύσταθιος ||9ινδικτών||10άιτέω

6 ⲁⲡⲟⲭⲟⲱⲣⲓⲍⲉ corr. ⲭⲟⲱ|| 6 ⲡⲁⲥⲓ corr. ⲥⲓ|| 6 ⲯⲓⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ corr. ⲙⲟⲩⲛ || 7 ⲉⲓⲧⲉ corr. ⲉⲧⲉ||

8 ⲱⲱⲡ corr. ⲱⲡ|| 9 ⲕⲑ corr. ⲑⲕ||

Inside the holy monastery of Saint Phoibammon, from my hand to the hand of *the Lamprotatos* Victor, in front of my beloved father *the Timiutatos* and the superior governor Victor, I authorize to you (5) to sow my part of the field in Psinemoun for this year until the 8th crop belonging to our division, pay me its rent 1 *Holokottinos* and 1 *Trimsion*, I accepted amount of the *Holokottinos*, in the city of Armont ☩ *Austathius* on the 29th of...? indiction …? (10) He asked me to sign and write it for him.

III. COMMENTARY

(l.1) The beginning of the line is missing, but I tried to reconstruct it: ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ may be a plausible recreation depending on the *ostracon*'s district.

(l.2) ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ may be a plausible reconstruction for the beginning of the line. This formula is borrowed, as indicated in the opening clauses of the tax contract

(Compare with O. CRUM ST 78-82[16], O. CRUM 409-419[17]). There are two people called ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ in the text: ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ the judge (l.2), and ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ the governor of the town (l.3).

(ll.2-4) The Eponymous date, which Horwitz identified as one of the Symbolic styles employed during the timeframe of the Coptic texts[18] is a type of historical identification; in certain texts pertaining to contracts, it is stated that the agreement was reached prior to the ruler or the distinguished individual so –and-so. (Compare with P.KRU Nr^{os}.35 (5-10), 38 (5-10)[19].

(l.5) ⲡⲡⲕ]ⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ can be proposed for the ending but it remains uncertain whether or not there was something else.

(l.6) ⲡⲛⲁ̄: The term borrowed from the Greek πνεῦμα here refers to fellowship, company, or belonging. On its meaning see (LSJ 1424a; Preisigke 2:325)[20].ⲯⲓⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ **(**Salāmūn): is a village in Upper Egypt, [21]and is part of the Djeme area[22]. In a Coptic document from Djeme, a contract is established for cultivating the fields in Psinemoun (O. CRUM VC 28, 5). Accordingly, there is a place called Psinemoun in the district of Koptos/ Qift or Hermonthis / Armont.

(l.7) ⲡⲁⲕⲧⲟⲛ: The term here refers to rent on leased land[23]. On its meaning see: MORELLI's introduction to CPR 22.33, PP.176-178[24].

(l.8) ⲡⲗⲉϩⲙⲟⲩ: The term here relates to pecuniary matters (hire, wage), see: CD 150a[25].

(l.9) ⲉⲩⲥⲧ(ⲁⲑⲓⲟ)ⲥ (Ἀύσταθιος) is a Greek personal name[26], and it appears he assumed the Judge's position in Hermonthis, as is attested in some authorization contracts where he is mentioned as a deacon[27]. (Compare with O. Vind. Copt. 42, 16[28], O. CRUM ST 37, 1[29]).

(Ll. 10-11) these sentences pose two difficulties; first the scribe was in hurry, and second, the ink has faded. I tried to reconstruct texts based on the traces of letters in comparanda: ⲁϥⲓⲁⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲥⲙⲛⲧⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲥϩⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⸗ «He asked me to sign and write it for him».

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[16] CRUM 1912: 77.
[17] CRUM 1902: 70-71
[18] HORWITZ 1940: 20-21.
[19] CRUM & STEINDORF 1912: 117, 131.
[20] PREISIGKE 1925-31: 325, LIDDLE 1968:1424.
[21] RAMZI 1953-68: 2[338]; SAUNERON 1964: 39-40; SAUNERON 1983: 66-68, PEUST 2010: 79.
[22] PREISIGKE 1925-31: 3/340; TIMM 1984-92: 2043; CALDERINI 2007: 5[165].
[23] PREISIGKE 1925-31: 223, LIDDLE 1968: 1289.
[24] MORELLI 2001: 176-178.
[25] CRUM 1939: 150a.
[26] BRÜNSCH 1984: 125; HASITZKA 2007: 79
[27] CRUM 1921: 13; TILL 1960: 13.
[28] TILL 1960: 13.
[29] CRUM 1921: 12.

The lines represent the closing formula of the contract. (Compare with O. Vind. Copt.42[30], 18-19; ST, 37, 18-19)[31].

IV. GENERAL DISCUSSION

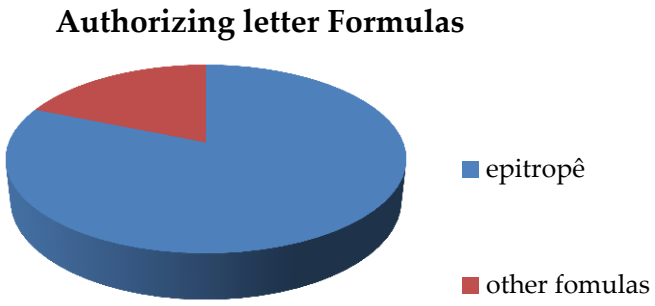
The text is a model used for Coptic authorization payment letters, reflecting general formulation and terminology from the 6th to the 8th centuries. The text shows three points of interest. The first one is that the contract is written in letter form (*Cheirographon*). Second, the text is a type of labor document (*Paramoni*). Third, the text provides a new attestation of *epitropê* documents from the monastery of Saint Phoibammon. A legal document or contract written in the form of a letter is referred to as a *Cheirographon* (*Χειρογραφον*) in Greek[32]. This kind of contract developed from the personal letter. Such a contract opens with the customary salutation used at the start of letters[33]. First person pronouns are used to refer to the sender's name, and second person pronouns are used to refer to the addressee's name. The form may end with standard greetings[34]. It is irrelevant that the first party wrote and signed this kind of document without the assistance of a notary public or witness testimony. If the sender was illiterate, someone else would write the letter on his behalf, whose name would be included near the conclusion, frequently as a closing formula and date. Otherwise, one might remember the date but forget the name[35].

The text is included in the *Paramoni* labor documents[36]. Steinwentre describes the system of work that the Copts have with one another. The employer concluded these contracts by having the employee explain the services he will be providing and the hire he will receive. These contracts contain basic provisions, the most significant of which is the length of the contract. Putting the contract info formal effect ensures that the employee keeps his end of the bargain, and the employer makes clear what is expected of him[37].

The dating of the *ostracon* primarily relies on its classification as an authorizing legal letter from the monastery of Saint Phoibammon. Second, the paleography is identical with other 7th-8th centuries letters, depending on the comparison texts. Third, the formulas: the eponymous date, the *epitropê* formula, the abbreviated currencies. In this regard, certain communities had a close relationship between with their superior, who served as the primary representative of the monastery when it came to legal deeds[38]. The most notable example is Saint Phoibammon monastery in Western Thebes, where the majority of legal documents were made under the monastery's name (as it appears from the context) and were carried out by its head as in the ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉ (*epitropê*)

[30] TILL 1960: 13.
[31] CRUM 1921: 13.
[32] SEIDL 1962: 61.
[33] JÖRDENS 2014: 422.
[34] RICHTER 2010: 123.
[35] YIFATCH-FIRANKO 2013: 23.
[36] Παραμονη: is a Greek term that refers to literal contracts, which are employment contracts that include an individual contract in the field of handcrafts. WESTERMAN 1948: 9; ABD AL-BAQĪ 1985: 4.
[37] STEINWENTRE 1955: 39-42.
[38] WOJTCZAK 2021: 141.

documents (that grant the Permission to farm)[39]. The Greek verb ἐπιτροπή (ChLGC 61, LSJ 667b, Preisigke 1:582)[40] is an intransitive verb that means «to commission». Based on the Coptic texts that has been published so far, it serves as the fundamental verb in the majority of authorization texts[41]. See the authorizing letter formulas in Coptic texts**[CHART 2].**



[CHART 2]: The authorizing letter formulas in Coptic texts © Done by the researcher

The fundamental formula for authorizing is the *epitropê* formula; it accounted for 88% of all mandatory Coptic published texts until now [**in accordance with chart 2**]. The remaining 12% consists of other formulas represented in the texts published so far. Some of these formulas presented in the following table:

***O. Madin. Habu.* Copt Nº.81, 5**[42]	ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲁ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧ To you for the joint working of the earth.
O. CRUM Nº.303[43]	ϫⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲙⲡⲱϩ As regards the field sowing.

[TABLE 1]: Other Coptic authorization formulas ©Done by the researcher

The conclusion of the ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉ documents can take many different forms. If the person is literate, he writes and signs the document, while occasionally mentioning the date. If he is illiterate, another person acts on his behalf in the same way as above. The ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉ documents, which date to the 7th-8th centuries, contain multiple sections referencing Coptic texts published in Thebes to date. Regarding this, the text is divided into the following parts:

[39] On the organization structure ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉ serves as major formula of authorizing in the labor documents. WEGNER 2017: 242; GAREL 2020: 54-60, 78-80, 87-88.

[40] PREISIGKE 1925-1931: 1[582], LIDDLE 1968: 667b; CHERIX 2022: 61; SPERANSKY 2022: 184.

[41] Depending on the texts: LEIPOLDT 1904: N°.79 [*BKU*.I, 79] = HASITZKA 1993: N°.79 [SB Kopt I, 79]. STENFANSKI 1952: 16-17 [*O. Medin. Habu*. Copt.81].
CRUM 1902: 28-29, 39, 54-55, 92 [O. CRUM Nos.138−140, 206, 303, 307, Ad.26); TILL 1960: 13 [O. Vind. Copt. 42]; CRUM 1921: 12-13 [O. CRUM ST Nos. 37-39]; FAIRMAN 1934: 78-79 [O.Buch.3].

[42] STENFANSKI 1952: 16, N°.81.

[43] CRUM 1902: 31, 54.

1. The usual greeting formula and the eponymous date were part of the opening formula (Ll.1-4).
2. The authorizing *epitropê* was stated in the authorizing formula (Ll.4-5).
3. The year until the 8th crop is the authorizing duration (l.5).
4. The authorizing conditions (l.6) pay the field's rent and share in its produce.
5. 1 *Holokottinos* and 1 *Trimision* is the authorizing value (Ll.7-8).
6. An alternate person signature format was supplied in the closing formula (Ll.9-11).

V. CONCLUSION

The authorization contracts from Winlock's *ostraca* finds contained the most content. The owner of letter, based on the document's closing formula, is illiterate. Certain specifics, such as land measurements and the indicated year for authorization, are missing from the text. The fundamental formula for authorizing is the *epitropê* formula; it accounted for 88% of all mandatory Coptic published texts until now.

In compliance with the regulation stipulating that the authorizing contract clerks has knowledge of both Greek and Coptic[44]. The scribe of this text employed a variety of formulas, which aligns with Stenfanski's observation that all legal terminology found in Greek or Coptic contract agreements experienced alterations and revisions as the Copts adopted them[45]. According to the paleography, formulas, content, and the comparative texts; the *ostracon* dates between the 7th–8th centuries AD.

VI. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would to extend my sincere thanks to Coptic Museum Staff members for facilitating access to this *ostracon*.

[44] MASIHA 1968: 495.
[45] STENFANSKI 1952: 2.

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AN ARTISTIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF METAL LAMPS DURING THE ALAWITE DYNASTY: THE MODEL OF A NEW COLLECTION KEPT AT THE CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN *HARIT ZUWAILA*, CAIRO

BY

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ABSTRACT

[AR]

دراسة أثرية فنية للقناديل المعدنية فى عصر الأسرة العلوية فى ضوء مجموعة جديدة محفوظة فى كنيسة السيدة العذراء بحارة زويلة بالقاهرة

إن دراسة الفنون القبطية بشكل عام وفن تشكيل المعادن بشكل خاص لها أهمية كبيرة في تاريخ الفنون الإنسانية ككل، وذلك لتميزها، وربما تفردها بين المصنوعات المعدنية المماثلة، وربما لتفردها وكشفها لثقافة الفنان وارتباطه بهويته الدينية وموروثاته الثقافية، إضافة إلى إبداعه الخاص به، واطلاعه على فنون البلاد المحيطة به، وتأثير هذا كله على فكره الخاص وإنتاجه الفنى. ويعرض هذا البحث مجموعة من القناديل المعدنية المحفوظة بكنيسة السيدة العذراء بحارة زويلة بالقرب من حي الجمالية بالقاهرة، والتي تنشر هذه المجموعة لأول مرة وتتميز بتنوع شكلها العام وزخارفها وأساليبها الفنية، كما أن لها أهمية خاصة من حيث إنها تعود إلى العصر الحديث، وبالتحديد نهاية عصر أسرة محمد علي في مصر، ولذلك وقع الاختيار عليها لدراستها بصورة مفصلة. وسوف نقوم بدراسة المجموعة المهمة لأنها تعكس دور الفنان القبطي، وكذلك المدرسة للمصنوعات المعدنية في هذه الفترة الزمنية، كما يتيح لنا الفرصة للتعرف على أعمال فنية جديدة تسد فجوة في دراسة تاريخ الفن القبطي في النصف الأول من القرن الرابع عشر الهجرى، العشرين الميلادى، وتسليط الضوء على بعض التحف التى تفصح عن حالة الفنون في عصر أسرة محمد علي، خاصة مع قلة الدراسات المتوفرة حول فن تصنيع وتشكيل المعادن في ذلك العصر من جهة، وتفرد الزخارف وتنوعها ودقة الصنعة، إضافة إلى تنوع المواد الخام من جهة أخرى. إضافة إلى معرفة دور أثرياء القبط فى توفير بعض التحف الفنية كوقف على الكنائس عامة، تقربًا بها سواء للأحياء أو للمتوفين.

[EN] The study of Coptic arts, in general, and the art of metalworking, in particular, has great importance in the history of arts as a whole. Its uniqueness and diversity set it apart from similar metal artifacts, revealing the artist's cultural and religious identity, and his connection to cultural legacies. This research presents a group of metal lamps preserved in the Church of the Virgin Mary in *Harit Zuwaila* in Cairo. This group, which is published for the first time, is distinguished by the diversity of its decorations and artistic styles. It has special importance in that it dates back to the end of the era of Muhammad Ali's family in Egypt. We will study this important collection because it reflects the role of the Coptic artist, as well as the artistic state of metalwork at this time. It also allows us the opportunity to learn about new works of art that fill a gap in the study of the history of Coptic art in the first half of the 14th century AH/20th century AD, and Islamic art in the era of Muhammad Ali dynasty. This study is important because there is limited research available on the art of manufacturing and shaping metals. Moreover, this study highlights the unique characteristics of antique decorations, showcasing their diversity, meticulous craftsmanship, and the variety of materials used. It also explores the contributions of wealthy Coptic families to the development and support of churches.

KEYWORDS: Muhammad Ali dynasty, Art history, Coptic art, church, Coptic metal, Islamic art, lamps

I. INTRODUCTION

The study of metal lamps has not received due attention[1]. Thus, the present study highlights art during the Alawite dynasty. It illustrates the Coptic artist's role and skill in decorating religious buildings and making artifacts with certain functions in the church.

The word *qanadīl* (lamps) is the plural of *qindīl* (lamp). It is also known, in Arabic, as*siraj*, *miṣbaḥ*, and *nibras*[2]. It is a life necessity. Allah (the Almighty) likened His light to a niche in the Holy *Qur'an*, «Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The example of His light is like a niche within which is a lamp ...»[3]. Some considered it the light of Allah on Earth[4]. These lamps displayed significant variation, ranging from simple designs to more intricate ones, with their shapes evolving over time. In addition, artists and craftsmen perfected the lamp's shape and added decorations[5].A lamp is suspended from the ceiling using a handle connected to a chain with a ball or circular termination connected to another chain in the ceiling. It resembles a vase with a convex body and ends at the base with a conical neck[6].

Lamps underwent three stages:

First stage: lamps were designed according to patterns known before the Ottoman period, especially before the Mamluk period, dating to the early Ottoman period. Lamps at this stage took the form of vases with a partially conical base, but in an inverted position. The lamps were wider at the top to allow in light and keep lamps lit. They were suspended, using several nets attached to the top of their bodies, with their chains gathered at a point. This form became popular during the Mamluk period of the 7th century AH/13th century AD. This project might be a huge success. Therefore, its creators had to replicate it because it could perform its functions effectively, efficiently, and easily[7].

Second stage: the purely innovative Ottoman model appeared at the end of the 12th century AH/18th century AD. It featured a round shape with a shallow, dome-shaped lid that had a circular hole in the center, resembling the lid of a lantern. There were hooks on both sides of the opening for hanging. Note that the manufacturer cut a hole in the lantern to emit light[8].

Third stage: lamps were created to keep up with the development of lighting technology, especially after the introduction of backlit lamps in the 13th century AH/19th century. Lamps were crafted in various designs, but one of the most notable models featured a shallow, domed shape with multiple openings. Three strands were attached to a handle on the side of the lamp, allowing it to be hung upside down.

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[1]Studied & Published for the First Time.
[2]ALḤARṬAY 1981: 17.
[3]*Qur'an* XXIV/35.
[4]COPPER 2014: 381.
[5]SAĪD 2009: 419.
[6]ALBAŠA 1970.
[7]ALḤARṬAY 1981: 118.
[8]ALḤARṬAY 1981: 117- 118.

Therefore, these chains were assembled in the shape of a dome with a round ring in the center and a hook for hanging[9].

II. THE DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE ARTIFACTS UNDERSTUDY

The First lamp

A

B

C

[FIGURES 1/A-B]: Silver lamp; C. Details of inscriptions © Photo taken & done by the researcher on (03/12/2021)

[FIGURES 1/A-C]
A silver lamp
Height: 18 cm.
Manufacturing method: Welding and compression.
Decoration style: Grooving and hollowing.
Date: 1651 CE/ 1935 AD.

This lamp is decorated with geometric, floral, and calligraphic decorations in several bands, as follows:

Lower (cup-shaped) part of lamp: The lower part of the lamp is conical and tapers towards the top. The lowest band of decoration consists of two bas-reliefs surrounded by numerous circles, reminiscent of Sasanian pearl beads. Each side is lined with raised heart-shaped leaves containing lotus flowers, followed by an undecorated area. The neck of the cup is decorated with a series of convex curves. This part is connected to a high lower part, which ends in a high ring connected to a chain, from which a cross is

[9] ALḤARṬAY 1981: 117- 118.

suspended on each shoulder, ending in a triple leaf. The upper part of the lamp, which is in the shape of a jug or pot, tapers towards the top and is decorated with some decorative ribbons. The first ribbon consists of two lines in bas relief surrounded by coils of four-petaled rose branches, transformed into the shape of a cross.

The second ribbon has an undecorated area and contains three rings welded to the lamp. These rings are made in the shape of a deformed hollow fish, showcasing the finesse of craftsmanship, and are connected to a chain that holds a lamp. Those items **[FIGURES 1/B-C]** include an inscription that reads as follows «On the church of Mary Girgis- *Harit Zuwaila* 1651 - 1935 - the late Aida *GeorgySaʿd al-Taweel*».

It is followed by a space devoid of decorations that ends with a decorative ribbon consisting of two lines in bas relief encompassing intersected zigzag lines that form irregular rhombuses and beehive patterns. Around the nozzle, there are successive vertical lines, followed by a row of obliterated circles (pearl beads). The third ribbon consists of two lines in bas relief encompassing diagonal stroke engravings.

The Second Lamp

[FIGURE 2]: A copper lamp with the shape of a pot © Photo taken & done by the researcher on (03/12/2021)

A Lamp in the shape of a pot made of Copper [FIGURE 2]
Manufacturing method: Compression, forging and welding.
Decoration: Bas and high relief.
Date: 1660 CE / 1943 AD.

This lamp has the same style as the previous one, taking the form of a vase, jar, or pot. Its decorations include floral motifs and diagonal stroke engravings. The base is conical in shape; it us wide at the base and eventually narrows. It features a band in bas relief composed of two parallel lines. Within the band, two intersecting wavy, braided lines form almond-shaped spaces resembling the shape of an eye's pupil. The conical part of the lamp has a a band of engraved diagonal strokes while the bottom has a circular ring, in which a cross is hung, like the previous model.

The body of the lamp is like a conical vase or pot whose diameter tapers upwards. It includes a *Naskhi* inscription, «the endowment for the Church of the Virgin Mary in HaritZuwaila 1660. Its upper part of the lamp is decorated with a decorative band featuring two prominent lines surrounding a row of grape leaves, set against a background of parallel horizontal relief lines».

There is a section welded to the body of the lamp, with each end featuring a circular ring. Three chains extend from these rings, converging at the top in a metal piece designed for hanging the lamp. Above this is a row of raised elements, featuring diagonal stroke engravings framed by two raised lines. This is followed by an empty space, then two lines in bas relief enclosing a decorative pattern of overlapping wavy lines forming a braid, with almond-shaped spaces inside. The lamp ends with a nozzle decorated with pearl beads.

The Third Lamp

A B

C

[FIGURES 3/A–B]: A silver lamp takes the shape of a vase; C. Details of human motif © Photos taken by the researcher on

A silver lamp [FIGURES 3/ A- C]

Manufacturing method: Compression, forging, and welding.
Decoration style: High relief and notching.
Date: 14thcentury AH/ 20th century AD.

This lamp takes the shape of a vase decorated with geometric, floral, and human figures. The base of the lamp is shaped like an inverted bulbous dome. The bottom has a circular ring connected to it by another ring with a cross with equally sized arms; each arm ends with a trifold leaf.

The body is pear-shaped. It is adorned at the bottom with a relatively wide register with two smaller bas relief bands that are decorated with inclined lines of blurred points, like Sasanian pearl grains. Next, a narrow band of raised vertical lines, bordered by two lines in bas relief, appears. This band is interspersed with three welded pieces forming the lamp's handles, designed as angels in a frontal position. Each angel features a childlike face with wide almond-shaped eyes, glazed eyebrows, a prominent nose and mouth, curly hair, and a halo encircling the face. The figure is adorned with a cloak patterned with intersecting lines and feathers extending on both sides of the face **[FIGURE 3/C]**.

Above these angelic faces are circular rings connected with chains to hang the lamp. These chains are connected from the top with a circular piece of metal with a ring to hang the lamp to the ceiling. The top of the lamp has a band of adjacent vertical lines, encompassed by two lines in bas relief. Then, another band appears with almond motifs, like the pupil of the eye, encompassed by two lines in bas relief. The top ends with the nozzle decorated with a row of raised «pearl beads».

III. ANALYTICAL STUDY

The collection under study is dated to the Egypt's Alawite dynasty, specifically the eras of King Fuad (1917-1936 AD) and King Farouk (1937-1952 AD). These lamps are divided into three models: The first model takes the form of a pot (painting), the second model has the form of a zīr (large pot) (painting), and the third model is non-traditional (painting). All these models are distinguished by their technical precision in design and craftsmanship, incorporating various materials such as silver and copper, along with geometric patterns, floral motifs, and inscriptions, as detailed below.

Materials

Silver

Silver is ranked second after gold in terms of importance and use. In nature, it is often found with lead, copper, and other metals. Its periodic symbol is (Ag)[10].Silver is characterized by ductility and malleability. Copper is added to silver to improve its hardness and reduce its melting point[11]. Additionally, silver has a beautiful white color, and its compounds are easily obtained from nature. It should be noted that pure silver is not suitable for use and shaping being alloyed with copper[12]. The ancients called it white gold because they might find some gold mines nearby silver ones[13].

Copper

Copper is one of the oldest known metals in history[14]. Its periodic symbol is (Cu). Natural copper is a red liquid that is easy to form in both red and yellow types. Copper can be formed in cold conditions[15]. This ductility made it the most common element

[10] MOUSSA 2018: 32.
[11] ṢALAḤ 1999: 24-25; EL-ĞAMĀL 2021: 336.
[12] ʿABDULWAḤED 1963: 113-115.
[13] EL-ʿAṬṬĀR 2017: 170.
[14] MARZŪQ 1974: 107.
[15] YOUSEF 2010: 493; EL-GENDI 2010: 29.

found in metal artifacts[16].It is also harder than gold or silver[17]. When it is being shaped, care must be taken to avoid sudden cooling so that it does not shrink, break or crumble[18]. It is known in the Holy *Qur'an* as *Qaṭr* «Bring me, that I may pour over it molten copper»[19]. It is also mentioned in another verse», «There will be sent upon you a flame of fire and smoke, and you will not defend yourselves»[20].

The Egyptians have used copper industrially since ancient times, and the most important mines are in the Sinai Peninsula. Some believe it to be one of the oldest minerals discovered.[21]. It was also referred to as Ṣafr, from which the term Al-Ṣaffarin, meaning copper makers, was derived. Brass is an alloy of red copper and zinc [22].

Copper was one of the most important metals utilized by Muslims. Its casting foundries appeared in *Fustat* near the Mosque of ʿAmribn al-ʿAs. Additionally, there was an area named after the manufacturers, known as Al-Nahhasīn, meaning coppersmiths, located on Al-Muʿizz Street. Copper manufacturing was widespread to fulfill the requirements of factories, armies, and fleets of weapons and equipment, the needs of export, as well as the needs of the Egyptian market and the general public[23].

IV. Manufacturing and Decoration Methods

1. Compression

Compression is the oldest method of metalworking, involving cutting the metal into panels that are grouped according to the shape of the intended piece. The plate is placed in a wooden, decorated mold and pressed until it takes the shape of the decoration carved into the mold[24]. This method is used with ductile metals, such as gold, silver, and copper.

2. Forging

Forging is one of the oldest industrial methods for manufacturing metal products, especially those for everyday use. It is done by placing the metal sheet on an anvil and hammering it into the desired shape[25].This causes the metal to expand and become thinner[26]. It was referred to by the Ottomans as Douma and to the craftsmen as *al-Qazanji*[27]. The metal plate is chosen and hammered on a wooden mold with the shape of the artifact, which is decorated with bas relief or high relief. This method is used with ductile metals, such as gold and silver[28].

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[16] Muḥamad 2021: 139.
[17] El-Ğamāl 2021:336.
[18] Ṣalaḥ 1999: 26.
[19] *Quran*: 18/96.
[20] *Quran*: 55/35.
[21] Ḫalil 2017: 958.
[22] Saʿid 2009: 32.
[23] Abū Sdira 1991:185.
[24] Mutaweʿ 2011: 185.
[25] Ṣalaḥ 1999: 31 ;ʿAṭīya 2007: 58; Saʿid 2009: 38.
[26] Mitrī 2002: 166.
[27] Fuʾad 2021:165.
[28] Rizq 2006: 185.

3. **Welding**

Welding involves melting metals at a temperature lower than the melting point of the metal, provided that the colors are similar[29]. It is used to assemble and connect metal artifacts that are difficult to form from one piece[30].

4. **Casting**[31]

Casting has been used by the Egyptians since ancient times. Thanks to their expertise in metal casting, the ancient Egyptians were able to create and manufacture many metal utensils and tools, and their industry developed[32]. The process begins with melting the metal, followed by casting[33].There were several casting methods, including casting in open molds to create small artifacts. Additionally, the ancient Egyptians used stone or sand molds. Some artifacts require using many molds, which might be made using wax or other materials[34]. The mold is made in the form of the artifact to be molded, and the decorations are executed in high relief or bas relief.[35] This method is often used to implement complex decorations[36].

5. Collaring

Collaring refers to the expansion of the collar through continuous hammering to stretch a part outward. Lamps are among the most important items created using this method[37].

6. Grooving and Drilling

Grooving and drilling are the most common ways to decorate metalwork. These techniques involve using sharp tools to create a specific decorative theme[38].Small grooves or reliefs are creating on the metal's surface, which is coated in preparation for mechanical engraving. The groove differs from the relief depth of the design. The craftsman creates the relief and accentuates the decorative elements[39].

7. Hollowing

This method has often been known since the 5thcentury AH/ 11thcentury AD. Artists hollowed out various elements. The beauty of antiques decorated in this style is based on the contrast between shadow and light caused by the hollowed and raised parts of the object[40].

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[29] EL-ĞAMĀL 2021: 337.
[30] GAʿFAR 2021: 230.
[31] METRY 2002: 168-169.
[32] ABU SDIRA 1991: 145-146.
[33] EL-ĞAMĀL 2021: 337.
[34] RIZQ 2006: 186; SAĪD 2009: 38.
[35] ʿṬIYA 2007: 60.
[36] MUṬAWEʿ 2011: 186.
[37] METRY 2002: 167.
[38] RIZQ 2006: 186.
[39] ṢALAḤ 1999: 34-35.
[40] RIZQ 2006: 186.

V. DECORATIONS

Various decorations were used on the artifacts under study, including figural, floral, geometric, and inscriptional decorations.

1. Floral Motifs

Floral motifs include leaves, rosettes, and Arabesques, as follows:

A. Leaves

- Heart-shaped leaves: **[FIGURE 1/d]**

The artist created heart-shaped leaves surrounding grape leaves in the decorative band at the bottom of the lamp in style similar to a plant stem surrounding a grape leaf.

- Tri-lobed leaves

The tri-lobed leaves represent the Trinity. They are a symbol of all the Trinities known to all civilizations. This motif was used to represent the Christian Trinity[41]. They also appeared in most Islamic arts, from the second and third styles from Samarra to the Alawite Dynasty in the 13thAH/ 19th century AD[42].

- Grape leaves[43]: [FIGURE 2]

Grape leaves, **[FIGURE** 2], are tri-lobed. This is one of the most important floral decorations that is widespread in Coptic art[44]. These leaves are associated with a sacred religious symbol[45]and a symbol of Jesus Christ himself, who said, «I am the true vine, and my Father is the gardener»[46] and «I am the vine; you are the branches».[47] Moreover, Jesus Christ presented the cup to his disciples at the Last Supper as his blood was shed for the salvation of the world[48]. According to the texts of the Liturgy, the grape is the symbol of the Church[49].

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[41] COPPER 2014: 523; ḤASAN 2014: 254.

[42] EL-ʿAṬṬĀR 2017: 186.

[43] It is known in Latin as *VitisVinifera*, and may have Asian origins though Egypt had a long history of agricultural knowledge dating back to prehistoric times. It has vines with climbing parts. Its leaves can be tri-lobbed and five-lobbed, with mesh shapes. It has two types, either table or wild grape. Furthermore, it was reflected in ancient Egyptian art through the depiction of scenes showing the cultivation and harvest of grapes. The Greeks related grape with Dionysius the god of winemaking (Bacchus for the Romans), who was considered the first to discover the cultivation of grapes.

In contrast, the Bible indicates that the Prophet Noah (peace be upon him) was the first to plant it, «Noah, a man of the soil, proceeded to plant a vineyard». *GN* 9: 20; Nrº.13: 23; *JD* 9: 27.

Grape juice (wine) is used in the Holy Communion (the Eucharist) and represents the blood of Christ (peace be upon him). According to the Bible, Jesus Christ is the one who did this: «Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me, and I in them». *Jn* 6: 56. NAẒIR 1970: 132; POSNER 1996: 330; ALJABŪRY 2019: 1519.

[44] EL-SAYED 2019: 226-229.

[45] AL-QINĀWĪ 2002: 10.

[46] JN 15:1.

[47] *JN* 15:5; AL-QINĀWĪ 2002: 13.

[48]*Lk*: 22; *Mt* 26; *Mk* 14.

[49]DRIOTON 1942: 26.

B. Rosette Decorations

- Four-petal rosettes[50] **[FIGURE 1]**

This rosette is most common in ancient art. For example, it appeared on Roman tombstones[51]. Christians often used it as an expression of the cross in a modified style, especially during times of persecution[52].

- Lotus flower[53] **[FIGURE 1]**.

This motif is encompassed by heart-shaped decorations **[FIGURE 1]**. It symbolizes purity and beauty. Some considered it a symbol of the Virgin Mary (peace be upon her), purity and renewal, and St. Catherine[54].

2. Geometric decorations

They varied and included the following items.

A. **Cross decorations**

Simply, a cross is the intersection of two lines: horizontal and vertical. The cross was also one of the worst methods of torture, which was widespread during the Greek and Byzantine periods[55]. The crucifixion involves hanging the victim on the cross by tying or hammering the feet and legs to the cross with nails. It is worth noting that the word «cross» was not mentioned in the Old Testament[56].

The two objects understudy **[FIGURES 1 & 3]** contained *crux immissa* with four equal arms, symbolizing the sacrifice of Jesus Christ for people's salvation. It is one of the most common cross types in Coptic art. Moreover, its equal arms might denote the spread of Christianity worldwide[57].

- Cross lines [FIGURE 1]

There is a continuous series of the Latin letter X. The artist might have intended the design to represent the cross of Saint Andrew, namely *Crux Decussata*. It is important because it is the first letter of the name *Christos*, the Greek name for Christ (peace be upon him)[58].

B. Rhombus decorations **[FIGURE 1]**

It is one of the most important geometric decorative elements that recurs in Coptic works of art, including metals, textiles, and carvings. Their artistic symbolism is diverse. Some believe that the diamond is a symbol of burial and baptism in the 1st

[50] EL-SAYED 2019: 183-184; 236.

[51] MALDONADO 2012: 143.

[52] MIḪAIL 2015: 19.

[53] In ancient Egyptian art, the lotus flower was a symbol of eternity. Because it opens during the day and closes at night, the Egyptians considered it a symbol of resurrection and immortality after death, renewal and continuity, and emergence of life. It was also a symbol of Osiris and was one of the most important offerings to the dead. MUṬAWEʿ 1991: 42; MUṬAWEʿ 2011: 71; MALDONADO 2012: 61; MOUSSA 2013: 254.

[54] BAHĪADDĪN 2009: 195; SAĪD 2014: 43; COPPER 2014: 342; MOUSSA 2018: 115; POSNER 1996: 293.

[55] ḤASAN 2014: 263.

[56] FARIS 2010: 7.

[57] MIḪAIL 2015: 14.

[58] MIḪAIL 2015: 15.

century AD, and that the four arms represent the four sacred animals[59]or Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John[60].

C. **Obliterated circle decorations (Sasanian pearl beads) [FIGURES 1-3]**

These decorations were famous in Sasanian art[61]. They consisted of a raised row of raised circles (beads). Moreover, they are frequently depicted on variously shaped metal objects[62]and were commonly used as decorations for beads, discs, and rosary rings[63].

D. Almond decorations

They appeared on the top of the lamp **[FIGURE 3]** as a continuous band.

3. Halo Decorations [FIGURE 3]

The luminous halo is simply the disc or illumination that surrounds the head of Jesus Christ, angels, and saints. It symbolizes holiness and is an important feature of Coptic art. Its purpose is to distinguish holy people. It was rarely used until the sixth Gregorian century[64]. It may have been used as a decorative form to draw attention to the importance of the depicted figure[65].

4. Figural Decorations

They included depictions of the face of the winged child **[FIGURE 2]**, symbolizing the child Cupid, which was a prominent motif in ancient Greek and Roman art and later reappeared in European art during the Renaissance, Baroque, and Rococo periods. Due to European artistic influences during the Alawite Dynasty, the winged angel reappeared prominently.

5. Inscriptions

There were different kinds of inscriptions on the pieces. All these decorations were executed with the *Naskhi* inscription. They included prayer inscriptions, registry inscriptions, religious phrases, and names of individuals.

A. Registry Inscriptions

According to the inscriptions on the objects in this study, the endowment of the lamps included the Church of the Virgin Mary in *Harit Zuwaila* **[FIGURE 1]** and the Church of Mary Gerges in *Harit Zuwaila* **[FIGURE 2]**. The registry text of *HaritZuwaila*1651-1935 was inscribed on artifact N°.1 during the late reign of King Fuad I[66].

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[59] HIRMINA 2010: 804.

[60] COPPER 2014: 593.

[61] MUṬAWEʿ 2011: 49.

[62] LUṬFI 2015: 72.

[63] WAGDI 2007: 155; MAḤMŪD 2018: 149.

[64] ISMAʿIL 1997: 148.

[65] MONIR 2013: 2.

[66] King Fuad (1917-1936), the son of Khedive Ismaʿil, came to the throne after the death of Sultan Hasan Kamil (1914-1917). He called himself King Fuad in 1922 after declaring Egypt's independence from England. His rule included Nubia, Cardivan, and Darfur.

Additionally, another text was inscribed on artifact N°.2, dated 1660 year of the Calendar of Saints, corresponding to 1943 AD during the reign of King Farouk of Egypt (1937–1952)[67].

B. Names of individuals

The name of the late Aida Georgi Saʿd al-Taweel was found on the first lamp **[FIGURE 1]**.

VI. CONCLUSION

For the first time, a paper changing light bulbs has been studied and published. This study demonstrated the artist's ability to create metal lamps of various shapes. It showed the simplicity of lamp decoration. The study found that wealthy Copts expressed interest in the Church of Charity, which included several works of art that played an important role within the building. The artistic yet precise attention to detail serves as an eloquent testament to the ingenuity of the Coptic artists. This study also translated the meaning of the Arabic inscriptions on the remains of objects.

[67] King Farouk ibn King Fuad (1937-1952) was the last descendant of Muhammad ʿAli who ruled Egypt. After the 23rd of July Revolution, which overthrew the royal rule, Egypt became a republic.

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MANIFESTATIONS OF THE INTEREST IN AND CARE FOR CHEETAHS IN THE AGE OF THE GREAT MUGHAL EMPERORS THROUGH PAINTINGS (932–1069 AH/1526–1707 AD)

BY

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **مظاهر الاهتمام بالفهود ورعايتها في عصر الأباطرة المغول من خلال اللوحات (932-1069هـ/1526-1707م)**

تعد الفهود من المفترسات التي تم ترويضها واستخدامها في الصيد، وقد عرف الإنسان القديم في الهند أهميتها بالنسبة له من اجل تأمين الغذاء، وقد وجدت الكثير من الرسوم القديمة في الكهوف المتفرقة في انحاء الهند التي تؤكد الاهتمام البالغ بها منذ القدم، وقد اهتم أباطرة المغول في الهند بالفهود وقاموا باصطيادها وتدريبها بأنفسهم ومنحها الرتب والألقاب ووسائل النقل الفخمة والفرش الثمينة، وقد وصل الاهتمام بها لدرجة كبيرة من الاهتمام حيث كانت تحضر مجالس الإمبراطور، كما أنها اعتبرت من الهدايا الدبلوماسية المهمة، وقد اعتنى فناني العصر المغولي في الهند برسوم الفهود وتصويرها في أوضاع مختلفة بداية من مراقبتها في الطبيعة، وفي أوقات صيدهم وفي براعتهم في الإمساك بالفرائس وقاموا بصنع الألبومات والصور المميزة التي تظهر قوة الفهود ومكانتها، وتنفيذ موضوعاتها التصويرية على التحف التطبيقية مثل السجاد والتحف الأخرى. ومن خلال المنهج الوصفي والتحليلي والتاريخي أظهر البحث مكانة الفهد الصياد في الهند، ومظاهر الاهتمام به كحيوان مميز من قبل أباطرة الهند العظماء، الذين عرفوا صفات هذا الحيوان ودرسوها بشكل مستفيض؛ حتى اضحى أحد أركان قوتهم ورمزا من رموز هويتهم، حيث أكدت التصاوير براعته في الصيد التي تحدثت عنها كتب المؤرخين والعلماء، وأظهرت الدراسة ان أباطرة الهند الستة العظماء قد مارسوا الصيد بالفهود واعتبروها رياضتهم المفضلة؛ وان فضل بعضهم في النهاية استخدام البنادق النارية التي تميزت بدقة الإصابة.

[EN] Cheetahs belong to the predators that are tamed and used for hunting. the ancient Indian man knew their importance and harnessed their power to hunt the prey for him, Many drawings of these animals have been found in ancient caves in various parts of India, which indicates the ancient interest in them. The Mughal emperors in India cared about and trained the cheetahs which they captured. Cheetahs were of great interest, as they attended the emperor's councils and were granted titles and ranks, luxurious means of transportation, and precious furniture. They were also important diplomatic gifts. The artists of the Mughal era in India were interested in drawing and depicting cheetahs in various situations, from observing them in nature and during their capture to their prowess in hunting and catching prey. They made distinctive albums and paintings that showed the strength of the cheetahs and implemented the subjects of their depictions on applied artifacts, such as carpets., By using a descriptive, analytical, and historical approach, the research paper illustrated the status of the cheetahs in India, the manifestations of interest in the cheetah as a distinctive animal, and the Indian emperors' knowledge of the characteristics and extensive study of this animal until it became one of the pillars of their power and a symbol of their identity, as the paintings confirmed its hunting prowess that historians and scholars discussed. It showed that the six great emperors of India practiced hunting with cheetahs and considered this sport their favorite, although some preferred to use firearms, which were distinguished by their accuracy.

KEYWORDS: Indian painting, hunting cheetahs, training cheetahs, Akbarnamah, hunting with cheetahs, chase skills, Shikargah.

I. INTRODUCTION

Cheetah is the fastest land animal on Earth; its speed reaches about seventy miles per hour (112 km/h). It jumps twenty feet 7 m at each step; it lives in a small group on vast pastures, and its areas of influence reach 500 square miles (804 km) of land[1]. Cheetahs (*Acinonyx jubatus*) and leopards (*Panthera pardus*) are often confused, as both can be distinguished by their external shape; the cheetah has dark scattered spots on the fur, while those of the leopard are clustered in the form of a rose. The head of a cheetah is longer than that of a tiger. Additionally, the most important characteristic of the cheetah is the presence of a distinctive dark spot under its eyes in the shape of a tear. Cheetah is selective in hunting[2], and it has partially retractable claws, long legs, a rounded head, and short ears that are sandy-yellow-brown with small black spots like the color of the earth. The cheetah is about 4.6 feet long, and its tail is 2.60 feet long. Additionally, its weight ranges from 100 to 140 pounds[3],the cheetah can be trusted never to attack a human and not provoke crowds in cities or processions[4].

The topic of hunting has received the attention of many researchers[5]. It was one of the most important royal activities in the ancient and Middle Ages, as a picnic for kings; equestrian training and travel and training princes in a difficult life, unlike the hunting of the poor, which was only for food[6]. The emperors In the Indian court were keen to take with them statesmen, hunting and accommodation tools, and they were interested in recording the adventures of the trip by accompanying artists with them[7].

Cheetah was one of the most famous hunting animals used in India since ancient times. The six great emperors, Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb, were professional hunters and considered hunting a royal privilege that enabled them to show their dominance over the empire; they considered Shikargah (hunting land) a place where they could defeat the greedy and warn rebels[8]. Through hunting, the kings forgot their desires, trained their physical muscles and animals, intimidated their enemies, kept the kingdom's borders, and earned glory[9].

Using the descriptive analytical method, this study focuses on the manifestations of interest in cheetahs through Indian painting[10] during the reign of the six great Mughal emperors. It is one of the complementary studies of previous studies on this important topic,The study organized the content chronologically and thematically.

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[1] ESTIGARRIBIA 2005: 5.
[2] CASTEL 2002: 17-28.
[3] AKHTAR 1996: 381-386.
[4] KHAN 2012: 461– 469
[5] ᶜABD AR-RAZIQ 1973; AKHTAR 1996; SALAḤ 2013; PARPIA 2018.
[6] YĀSYN 2005: 63-71.
[7] ḤASAN 2003: 83.
[8] KOCH 1998: 11.
[9] ᶜABD AR-RAZIQ 1973: 11-24.
[10] THABET 2021: 174-176.

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

1- Babur (932–937 AH/1526–1530 AD) and His Interest in Cheetahs

Babur was a statesman who was multi-skilled. He was deeply interested in painting and outdoor activities, such as hunting[11]. In addition, he wrote in his memoirs a detailed description of the animals in India, such as elephants, rhinoceros, lions, tigers, monkeys, and mice[12]. Babur was depicted in *Baburnama* hunting the blackbuck in Shikargah, the hunting land where the cheetahs run next to him[13].

Babur is depicted in a hunting scene set in a landscape teeming with a wide variety of animals, including blackbucks, goats, and wild boars. A cheetah runs alongside the emperor, attempting to hunt a blackbuck, driven by its instinct for hunting and predation. The emperor wields a sword and rides his horse, which charges after a deer[14] [FIGURE 1].

Realistic colors were used in the depiction of animals, such as the cheetahs with yellowish fur covered in small black spots and the blackbucks with dark fur. Pale tones were applied to portray deer, lions, and other animals. In contrast, bright colors like blue, red, and green were used to illustrate the men's clothing.

One of the manifestations of the care of the cheetah was its use in hunting in the era of Babur, suggesting that the emperor took care of and trained the cheetah himself. He talked in his memories about the events of 935 AH/1529 AD, where he held a feast for his statemen and distributed gifts, including Wali Barchi, the cheetah's guard, who gave a golden dagger[15].

A

B

[FIGURE 1]: A. Babur hunts a blackbuck. *Baburnama* (1008 AH / 1600 AD) © San Diego Museum of Art, Acc. Nº.1990.809 San Diego Museum of Art - Babur kills blackbuck in a hunting circle (sdmart.org), accesed on (01/09/2023); B. Details from A.

[11] WELCH 1963: 16.

[12] AKHTAR 1996: 381-386.

[13] SARDAR 2016: 133.

[14] SARDAR 2016: CAT.75; san diego museum of art - babur kills blackbuck in a hunting circle (sdmart.org), accessed on (01/09/2023).

[15] BABUR 1996: 417.

2- Humayun (937-947 AH/ 1530-1540 AD) - (962-963 AH/ 1555-1556 AD) and his Interest in Cheetahs

Nasir al-Din Humayun took power when he was twenty-two years old. After he was defeated in a battle, he fled to the Safavid court, where he got to know the great Iranian painters, such as Mir Sayyid ᶜAli and Abdul Samad, which affected the development of the art of Indian painting[16].

A copy of the *Akbarnamah*, produced in the early seventeenth century, includes a painting of Humayun and Shah Tahmasp hunting with trained cheetahs near Takht Suleiman in Persia. The painting, created by Ganga Sen and Narsingh[17] , depicts a cheetah hunting a deer at the top of the scene. The hunting area is surrounded by men on rocky terrain, providing a suitable environment for wild animals.

Emperor Humayun and Shah Tahmasp are shown riding horses and holding their weapons. In front of them is a large group of animals, including rabbits, goats, and dogs, assisting in the hunt **[FIGURE 2]**.

The painting colors were balanced for the hunting environment, consisting of rugged rocky ground with pale green vegetation and trees with bright green color. Pale yellow was used in drawing cheetahs, deer, and even some foxes; red appeared in hunting dogs and the emperor's horse. The painting shows Humayun's interest in taming and hunting cheetahs.

A B

[FIGURE 2]: A. Humayun and Shah Tahmasp hunting with trained cheetahs. ***Akbarnamah*** **17 AD /11 AH. © British Library Or. 12988, F.103r; https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_12988_f103r, accessed on (01/09/2023); B. Details from A.**

[16] BEACH et Al. 1978: 16.

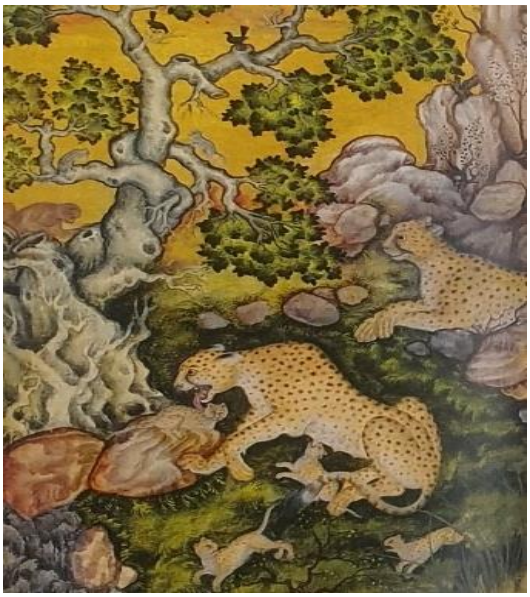
[17] KHAN 2012: 461- 469.

3- Akbar (963-1014 AH/ 1556-1605 AD) and his Interest in Cheetahs

The Mughal emperor Akbar was a warrior, artist, scientist, and inventor. He was brave and intrepidly interested in training wild cheetahs. He kept many cheetahs during his reign and taught them himself[18]; Akbar went hunting with his trained cheetahs, which were given ranks and paraded in lines to the beat of drums[19]. Abū al-Fadl accurately described most of the anecdotal incidents related to topics such as hunting or traveling in *ᶜAin Akbari*, as he did in *Akbarnamah*[20]; Akbar's court included many artists whom represents all the activities of the emperor, such as Paswan and Miskin, who created distinguished paintings of cheetahs[21].

Among the most famous paintings depicting the behavior of cheetahs in their natural environment is one that portrays a family of cheetahs in a forest, consisting of a father, a mother, and four cubs. The scene exudes an atmosphere of tranquility amidst dense trees and rocks. One of the cheetahs sits quietly while the mother feeds her cubs and spontaneously licks another. Meanwhile, three of the cubs are seen playing **[FIGURE 3]** .

The artist used realistic colors in the drawings of cheetahs, i.e., pale yellow with black dots on the fur, gray color for tree trunks, pale colors for spongy rocks, and Indian yellow for the background. This realistic view highlights the interest of the emperors in painting cheetahs in nature and studying the various aspects of life. It emphasizes the behavior of animals in living and dealing in the herd and caring for their cubs.



[FIGURE 3]: Family of cheetahs in nature, Album 1580-1585 AD/ 988–993 AH), Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan - Geneva M194. DAS, MANṢŪR & ISRAEL 2012: PL.1.6

Akbar was interested in cheetahs, as reflected in his keenness to hunt on multiple occasions and in places such as Agra, Punjab, and Jodhpur. Once informed that one

[18] PRASAD 2021: 28-35.
[19] KABIR 2019: 65-67.
[20] LEACH 1995: vol.1, 257.
[21] WELCH 1978: 27-28.

cheetah had fallen into a trap, he immediately rushed to the hole and pulled it out himself[22].

One of the *Akbarnamah* manuscripts, preserved at the Chester Beatty Library, depicts Akbar in his youth inventing a magical trap to capture cheetahs[23] . The emperor is shown with his courtiers: one holding an umbrella, another holding the horse's bridle, and a third holding a sword. Additionally, a group of men is depicted holding ropes and lifting a fallen cheetah from one of the traps. Nearby is a cage designed to contain the cheetah once it is retrieved from the hole. The hunting ground, situated near rocky heights, is depicted in pale yellow tones, blending with the colors of the cheetah **[FIGURE 4]** .

The painting shows Akbar's interest in the cheetahs by catching them alive. He instructs his men to accomplish the task thoroughly, which shows in his expressions and body language.

A B

[FIGURE 4]: A. Akbar hunts cheetahs. *Akbarnamah* 1604-1605 AD/1012-1013 AH © Chester Beatty Library, UK In 03.52.1. DAS et Al. 2012: PL.1.6; B. Details from A.

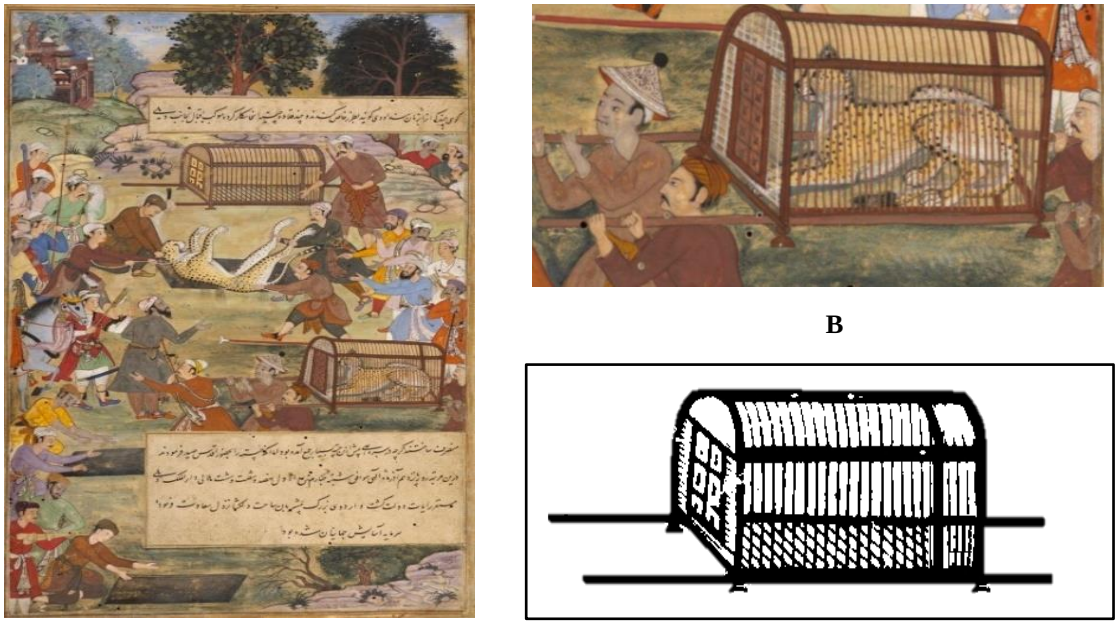
The paintings depict the methods used to transport cheetahs after they were captured. Among them is a painting illustrating the second stage of the cheetah hunting process: transferring the animals to taming pens. In the scene, a large group of men is shown transporting cheetahs from traps to pens using stretchers. The painting features hunters placing a cheetah on a carpet to carry it, followed by a scene showing one cheetah inside a cage being carried by a group of men. Another cheetah, tied with ropes and resisting, is carried on a carpet by four men, with a cage prepared for its transfer visible in the background **[FIGURE 5]**.

The artist used realistic colors in the drawings of cheetahs, showing their anatomical features and fine details. The painting had a great diversity of colors in men's clothes, with

[22] ABŪ AL-FAZḶ 1873: vol.1, 285-289.

[23] PAL 1991: 92, PL.5.

bright colors, such as red, blue, and orange. Additionally, rocks were colored, and trees had large green leaves. The painting showed an interest in transportation as an essential step in training cheetahs, making them quiet by blindfolding their eyes, caring not to injure or torture them, and providing special safe transportation.

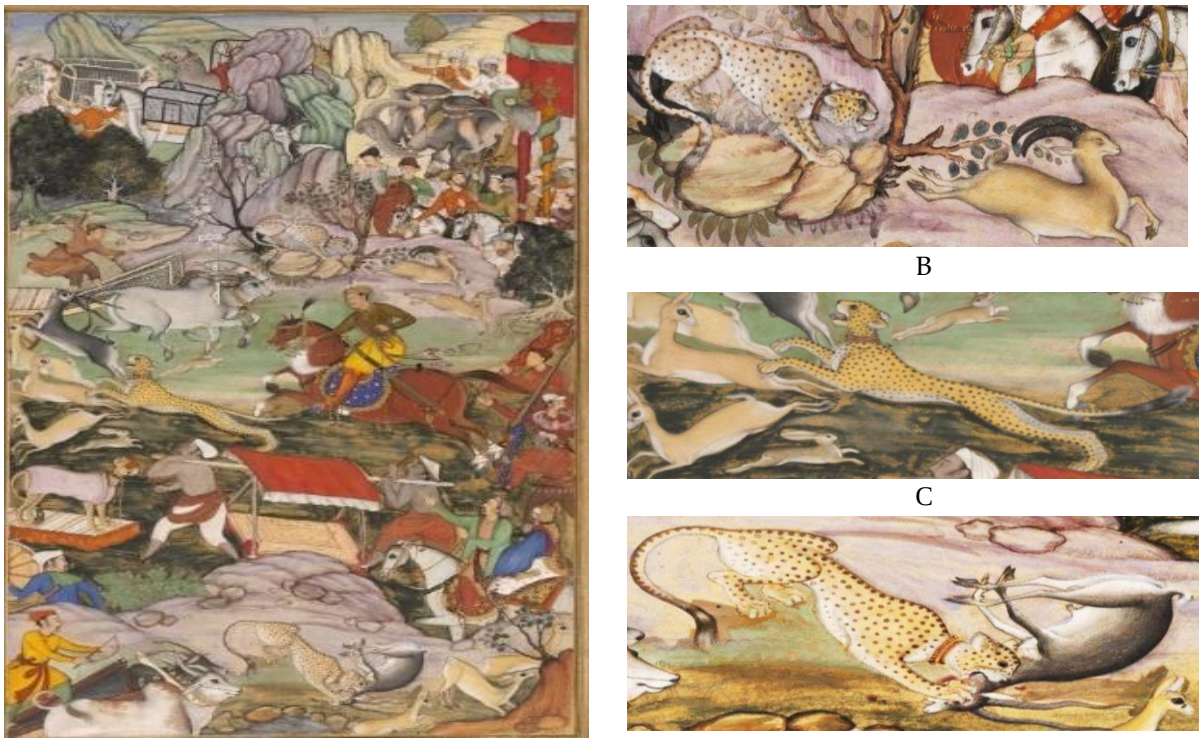


A **B** **C**

[FIGURE 5]: A. Cheetah hunting and transportation, *Akbarnamah* 1590-1995 AD/998-1003AH. PARPIA 2018: FIG.7 © Victoria and Albert Museum–IS.2:2-1896, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O9248/akbar-assists-in-capturing-a-painting-tulsi/, accessed (01/09/2023); B-C Details from A.

The Mughal emperors showed great interest in commissioning paintings of hunting cheetahs during their hunting trips, highlighting the animals' skill and agility. One of the *Akbarnama* manuscripts depicts a hunting scene involving trained cheetahs. In the foreground, an ox cart is shown, with a cheetah chasing a group of deer and capturing a blackbuck. In the second tier of the painting, a knight on horseback carries a blindfolded cheetah covered with a blue blanket. Emperor Akbar is also depicted on horseback, with one of the cheetahs leaping behind three deer in front of him. In the third tier, another cart pulled by oxen appears, with a cheetah lurking behind a tree near two deer. In the background, a group of knights observes the hunt, while horses carry cages for birds and animals behind the rocky hills **[FIGURE 6].**

The artist succeeded in the excellent color diversity and kinetic expressions accompanying the hunting process. Multicolors were used in this painting; gray was used on spongy rocks, green and red were used in furnishings, clothes, and horses; dark green was used in trees; pale-yellow color was used for cheetahs, deer, and rabbits. The painting showed several manifestations of interest in cheetahs. There were different types of transportation, such as elegant blankets and keepers who took care of the cheetahs. Moreover, the large number of cheetahs in the hunting process suggested great interest in them.



A B C D

[FIGURE 6]: A. Hunting with trained cheetahs, Akbarnamah 1590-1995 AD/ 998-1003 AH © Victoria and Albert Museum - IS.2:24-1896; LEVINE 1974: vol.1, 200, FIG.28; B-D. Details from A.

Among the paintings depicting hunting activities and the power of cheetahs is a painting from the *Akbarnamah* manuscript, painted by La'l and Kēsav Khord[24]. This painting represents both the hunting activities and the transportation of cheetahs. The painting features Emperor Akbar hunting with cheetahs and is divided into several levels; In the first level, a decorated carriage is pulled by a pair of bulls, with a driver seated above it and three guards positioned behind and beside the carriage. On the second level, the emperor is shown riding his horse, accompanied by a group of escorts. In front of them, a cheetah chases a group of deer and captures a blackbuck while the emperor observes the hunting process. In the third level, a knight holds a blindfolded cheetah behind him and gestures toward a group of deer with his hand. [Figure 7]

The artist used a variety of colors in the painting, such as purple for the sponge-like rocks. The deer are depicted in realistic colors, such as black and yellow, while the two cheetahs are shown in pale yellow with black spots on their bodies and black, tear-like streaks on their faces. The painting showed the emperor Akbar's care for the cheetahs and their use in hunting, allocating guards, chariots, and knights, providing them with elegant textiles, and giving them ranks as in the neck of the cheetah above the horse and the other cheetah with a red collar on the neck.

[24] PARPIA 2019: 39-58.

B.

C.

A D.

[FIGURE 7]: A. Hunting with trained cheetahs, Akbarnamah 1590-1995 AD/998-1003 AH ©Victoria and Albert Museum - IS.2:92-1896, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O9759/akbar-painting-lal/, accessed on (28/07/2023); B-D **Details from A. © Done by the researcher**

Emperor Akbar was so fond of hunting that he was depicted in *Shikargah* with cheetahs using a hunting technique known as *Qamargah*[25]., The scene features a fence of trees, with spectators outside watching the emperor hunt. Inside the enclosure, various activities are depicted, the most prominent being the hunting process itself. The emperor is shown on his white horse, alongside a cheetah chasing a blackbuck. Another cheetah has captured a blackbuck, while a third stands with its guard near the fence. The enclosed area is filled with various animals, including deer, antelopes, rabbits, wolves, and foxes. Additionally, a group of men is shown slaughtering prey that has been caught. On the side of the painting, an ox cart is depicted, used to transport the cheetahs **[FIGURE 8]**.

People outside the hunting circle wear colorful multi-colored clothes. The emperor wears a dark brown costume and rides a white horse. A pale yellow color with black dots is used for cheetahs, as there are many colors of prey, such as deer in pale yellow, antelope in black, and goats in dark brown. One of the manifestations of interest in cheetahs is trusting them in the hunting ring and treating them as a partner of the emperor in the hunting process, as they, along with the emperor's horse and dogs, are the emperor's soldiers inside the hunting circle.

[25] WELCH 1978: 68.

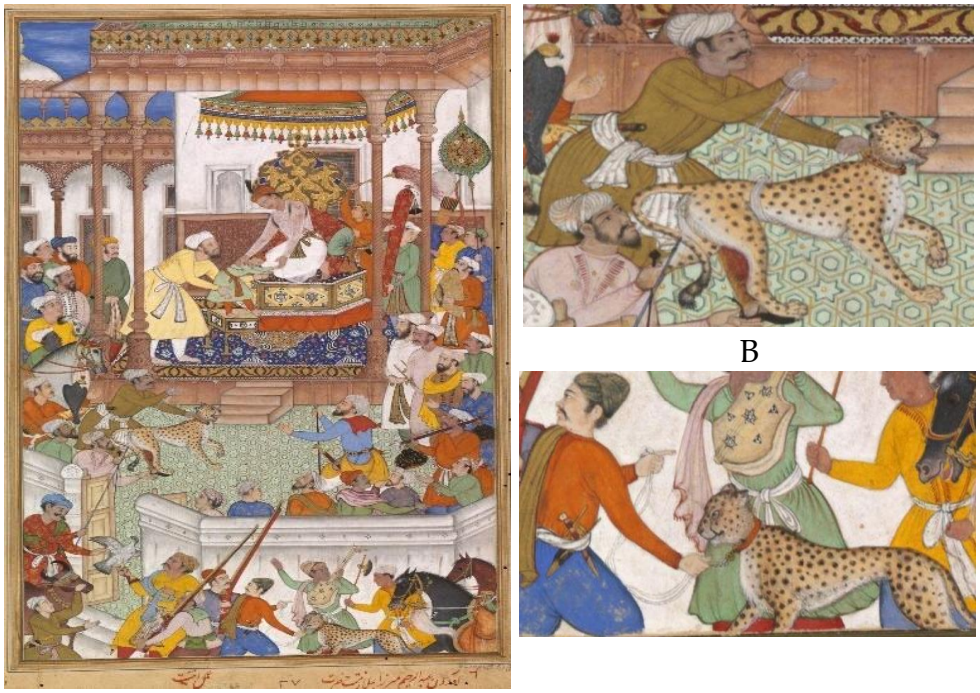
A B C D

[FIGURE 8]: A. Akbar in Shikargah using trained cheetahs, Akbarnamah 1590-1995 AD/ 998-1003 AH © Victoria and Albert Museum - IS.2:56-1896; WELCH 1978: PL.14.; PARPIA 2018: FIG.2 ; B-D Details from A.

Akbar was influenced a lot by the cheetahs, much so that he felt good luck if the cheetah succeeded in hunting[26]. Moreover, he was keen to have the cheetah in his council as in one of the paintings which represents the court of Emperor Akbar, The emperor sits on the throne chair and receives a child, the son of his Minister Asif Khan, and the courtiers stand around the emperor's council in submission and serenity. Among the audience before the emperor's council is a cheetah with his guard. The entourage is followed by a fence behind which a group of men stands, where one holds hunting falcons, the other holds the reins of horses, others are responsible for oxen carts, and other men are carrying hunting rifles **[FIGURE 9]** .

The court in view is decorated with bright colors in clothes and buildings and shows the palace decorations: red and white, ornate blue carpets, multi-colored clothes, and a clear blue sky. Two of the cheetahs are colored with a realistic pale yellow color. One of the manifestations of interest is the presence of cheetahs at the emperor's court, denoting his keen interest in and care for them.

[26] LEACH 1986: 72.



[FIGURE 9]: A. Trained cheetah in the court of Akbar, Akbarnamah 1590-1995 AD/998-1003 AH ©Victoria and Albert Museum - IS.2:7-1896, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O9289/akbar-and-abdur-rahim-painting-anant/, accessed (26/07/2023); B & C Details from A.

The arts during Akbar were heavily influenced by depictions of cheetahs, particularly in applied arts such as wool-illustrated rugs. One such rug, housed at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, features a design similar to miniatures depicting hunting scenes[27], The pictorial carpet includes a narrow border with motifs, a wide frame adorned with floral designs and bird imagery, and another narrow border sandwiched between white stripes. The central painting on the rug painting a hunting scene with a red background decorated with multicolored floral motifs and winding plant forms. The scene includes depictions of chases between lions, cheetahs, and their prey. At the center of the composition is a mythical creature with the head of an elephant and the body of a lion, surrounded by men carrying prey on their shoulders.

In the upper portion, two lions are depicted, one chasing a bull. Additionally, a cheetah chases a blackbuck and a group of deer. Above these scenes are buildings with men sitting inside. Although the pictorial scene appears mythical, the artist rendered the cheetah in pale yellow with black spots and the antelope in black. The red background of the rug enhances the contrast, making the details more vivid **[FIGURE 10]**. This rug depicted the cheetahs and their transportation process, and even the subtle details, such as the guard of the cheetah behind the ox cart, who guard the cheetah and expelled flies and insects, suggesting the status that the cheetahs had and the levels of interest to the degree of depiction on antiques and textiles.

[27] WELCH 1963: 31, PL.22.

A B

[FIGURE 10]: A. Hunting scenes, pictorial Carpet 1590 -1600 AD/ 998 -1008 AH © Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 93.1480, accessed (02/08/2023); WELCH 1963: 31, PL.22; B. Details from A.

4- Jahangir (1014-1037 AH/ 1605-1627 AD.) and his Interest in Cheetahs

Before becoming emperor, Jahangir was called Salim. He was aspiring to rule. He rebelled against his father and established a court in Allahabad. His father Akbar tried several times to restore him to his authority, but his aspiration to rule was strong. After many skirmishes and because of his father's illness, Akbar handed over power to him in (1605 AD/1014 AH),and Salim took the title Jahangir[28].

Emperor Jahangir inherited a large empire; he had much free time, inclination, and talent to go out in nature and hunt. He wrote many descriptions of hunting and animal behavior in his memoirs[29]. He was also an enthusiastic hunter, fond of hunting cheetahs. Raja Pir Singh brought him a white cheetah, which aroused Jahangir's attention. He also used cheetahs to chase many antelopes in Rumbas (Gujarat) in (1611 AD./1020 AH.)[30].

The number of animals in Emperor Jahangir Park in the Red Fort in Agra was astonishing, including four hundred cheetahs, one hundred tamed lions, and large numbers of hunting dogs, tigers, other animals, and birds[31].

Various influences prevailed during the reign of Jahangir, who was a connoisseur of beauty. His era was dominated by prosperity, luxury, and security. Art witnessed great prosperity as he directed his artists to study natures to make their drawings more realistic

[28] BALABANLILAR 2020 :30-38.

[29] DIVYABHANUSINH 1987: 269-274.

[30] KHAN 2012: 461-469.

[31] GROOM 2018: 6.

and accurate[32]. the paintings in the age of Jahangir was influenced by European scientific encyclopedias. Still, his paintings represented a personal work that recorded stories and phenomena as memories[33].

Emperor Jahangir often hunted with cheetahs. In the Aga Khan Museum, there is a painting from *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that depicts Prince Salim capturing cheetahs himself. At the top of the painting, a group of men is shown carrying hunting tools, with an oxcart in front of them. Prince Salim rides his horse, followed by his entourage. In front of the horse, a group of men is depicted—two of them carrying a stretcher with a cage used to transport cheetahs. Four other men hold a cheetah, placing it on a carpet for carrying and tying it with ropes. The city, with its tall buildings, is visible on the horizon **[FIGURE 11]**. Pale colors were used in this painting, a method used in that period, where the brown color dominated the painting, and yellow-green was used in tree drawings.

One of the manifestations of interest in cheetahs was that the emperor himself participated in the process of capturing cheetahs, equipping suitable means of transportation such as cages carried by men, an oxcart, and precision in the process of arresting cheetahs so that they were not injured or disturbed.

A B

[FIGURE 11]: A. Prince Salim cheetahs, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (1602 AD/1010 AH © Aga Khan Museum, Canada (AKM166), https://collections.agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/salim-and-the-captured-cheetah-akm166 , accessed on (30/09/2023); SINGH 2010: PL.19; B. Details from A.

Prince Salim is depicted hunting with trained cheetahs in a painting from an album housed in the Cleveland Museum of Art[34]. The scene shows a hunting expedition in a natural setting, with animals such as deer, antelope, rabbits, and nilgai running swiftly

[32] BEACH 1987: 27-32; ABBAS & ALMUNEIM 2018: 427-448.

[33] HOPPER 2019: 41-56.

[34] MILLIKEN et Al. 1958: cat.Nº.778.

among the trees. One of the cheetahs pounces on a blackbuck, capturing it with its dewclaw and killing it with a stranglehold on its neck. At the top of the scene, three men raise their hands with sticks to distract the prey, and one of them moves to free the blackbuck from the cheetah's grasp **[FIGURE 12]** .

The artist used green colors in the hunting area. He used purple and green for rocks and natural colors for deer, antelope, goats, and even blue nilgai. The cheetah appeared in pale yellow with a white belly. It was even depicted with the distinguishing black line of the eye when catching a black deer. Additionally, three people were dressed in colored clothes. The painting shows Jahangir the interest in the cheetahs through the assigned men for keeping and serving it.

A B

[FIGURE 12]:A. Hunting with trained cheetahs, Album 1600-1604 AD/1008-1012 AH © The Cleveland Museum of Art: 1939.66, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1939.66, accessed on (22/08/2023); MILLIKENet al 1958: cat. Nº.778; B. Details from A.

Prince Salim liked to recording his experiences in the fields and forests through paintings. He often went hunting with rifles, arrows, swords, spears, and trained cheetahs[35]. In this painting, he is shown riding an elephant, holding a hunting rifle, with the elephant keeper seated in front of him. Ahead of the elephant is a group of men hunting rhinoceroses, one of whom carries a hunting falcon. The prince and his escorts are depicted hunting rhinoceroses and antelopes. The second scene features a cheetah pouncing on an antelope. In the third scene, courtiers are shown standing while holding flags. At the top of the painting, a cheetah is seen chasing a deer, following the trainer's instructions **[FIGURE 13]**.

[35] PAL et Al. 1993: 65.

The artist used green for light vegetation and dark green for the trees. He painted two cheetahs attacking deer with their distinctive yellow color and having black dots on their fur and white stomachs. Moreover, he painted some animals in black, such as the elephant ridden by the prince and the rhinoceros and the deer hunted by the cheetah. There is a diversity in the colors of clothing for hunting men. The painting shows Prince Salim's interest in cheetahs, caring for them, using them for hunting, appointing guards, and giving them medals and decorations.

A B

[FIGURE 13]: A. Prince Salim hunts with trained cheetahs, Shikarnama 1600-1604 AD/ 1008-1012 AH © Los Angeles Museum, USA - M.83.137; PAL et AL. 1993: cat. Nº.65; B. Details from A.

Prince Salim commissioned his artists to produce several hunting scenes that depict hunting activities with trained cheetahs, showcasing his skills with firearms and his accuracy in shooting. The San Diego Museum of Art has a painting from the hunting book *Shukranamah*[36], which portrays Prince Salim in nature, holding his rifle with a dagger at his waist, shooting two nilgais. Beside him, a cheetah is shown pouncing on a deer. Behind the prince are two of his courtiers, while next to him stand hunters—one carrying birdcages and the other holding small animals. At the top of the painting, a group of men is seen carrying the prince's drink **[FIGURE 14]**.

The hunting environment is covered with green and yellow, which suit the colors of animals such as antelopes and pale deer. The pale yellow cheetah is dotted with black spots, and the huge trees are dark green. The prince's clothes are dark green, and he carries a red gun. The blue sky appears on the horizon with mountain ranges. Despite the prince's use of firearms in hunting, he was interested in cheetahs, shown catching a blackbuck, along with guards caring for them.

[36] San Diego Museum of Art - Salim, holding his rifle, gestures at a dead nilgai https://collection.sdmart.org/objects-1/info/5470 , accessed on (28/09/2023).

A B

[FIGURE 14]: A. Salim hunting with cheetahs, *Shikarnama* 1600-1604 AD/1008-1012 AH © The San Diego Museum, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection - 1990.316; WRIGHT& STRONGE 2008: FIG.30; B. Details from A.

5- Shahjahan (1037-1068 AH/ 1628-1657 AD) and his Interest in Cheetahs

There were innovations in paintings in the Shah Jahan period. The paintings were a continuation of the tradition of Jehangir; the albums increased, and manuscripts declined. Additionally, most paintings were individual portraits, as Shah Jahan did not have the eclectic taste nor intellectual gluttony of Akbar and Jahangir[37]. The manuscript of *Badshahnameh* reports the emperor's recreational activities, such as hunting predator animals in Hindustan in (1637 AD/1046 AH), in which the emperor appeared in luxurious clothes and precious jewels. It shows his interest in arts, sports, and musical performances, highlighting his pursuit of pleasure[38]. Kevorkian's album also contains animal studies, portraits of emperors, and a collection of calligraphy, surrounded by floral borders[39]. Shah Jahan used cheetahs to hunt blackbuck[40]. He was depicted in hunting scenes featuring trained cheetahs. One such painting, representing Mughal-style naturalism, was created at the Mewar court in Rajasthan at the beginning of the eighteenth century[41]. It depicts the emperor riding his horse alongside carriages, with cheetahs walking ahead under the supervision of their guards.

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[37] BEACH 1981:37.

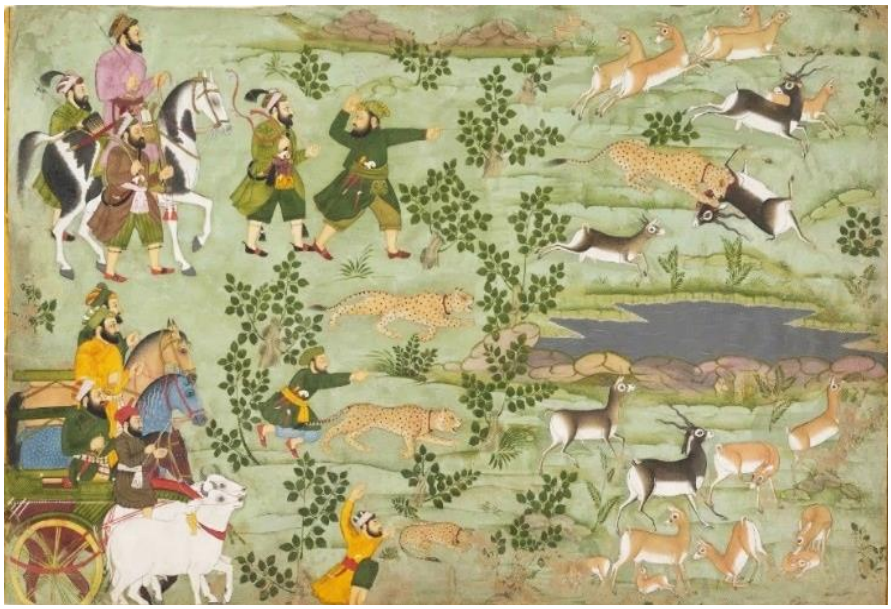
[38] ASGHAR et Al. 2023: 449-460.

[39] BEACH 1981:178.

[40] KABIR 2019: 65-67.

[41] «Shah Jahan Hunting Blackbuck with Trained Cheetahs», https://www. metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38048, accessed on (28/09/2023).

On the left side of the painting, there is an ox cart followed by two horsemen. At the top of the scene, the emperor is shown riding his horse, accompanied by two escorts and four men walking with four cheetahs ahead of them, prepared to hunt deer and antelopes in a landscape filled with vegetation and water swamps. One of the cheetahs successfully captures a blackbuck **[FIGURE 15]**. The artist used green for the vegetation in the painting, drew a group of trees, and distributed a group of animals simulating real colors. The painting shows the emperor Shah Jahan's interest in cheetahs, going out hunting with them, preparing carts equipped to transport cheetahs, and taking care of them by its guards. He used them to hunt widely.



[FIGURE 15]: Emperor Shahjahan hunts with trained cheetahs. TOPSFIELD 2004: 278–79,cat. Nº.121. Akbarnamah – Rajasthan 1710 AD/ 1122 AH © Metropolitan Museum – Nº.2019.445.2

6- Aurangzeb (1069-1118 AH/ 1659-1707 AD) and Cheetahs

The Mughal Empire peaked in size and wealth, and the Deccan was annexed to the Mughal Empire during his reign. He spent most of his years struggling to control the sprawling and often rebellious provinces[42]. Various studies of birds and animals dating back to the Aurangzeb era of Rajasthan were preserved in Jaipur, Bikaner, and Muar, showing the spread of Mughal art[43].

Aurangzeb was interested in both arts and hunting. He is depicted in hunting scenes, shooting nilgais with firearms[44]. The Chester Beatty Library contain a painting from an album that portrays Aurangzeb and his hunters employing traditional techniques. In this method, two domesticated or captive nilgais were used to attract wild nilgais, facilitating their capture[45].

[42] WELCH 1985: 266-270.
[43] SOOD 2020: 35-41.
[44] SINGH 2010: 35.
[45] SVIZZERO 2016: 53-68.

The painting shows Aurangzeb hunting in the middle of a dense forest filled with trees and grass, where prey is abundant. In the scene, the emperor is seated, resting the barrel of his weapon on the shoulders of two of his men, while many of his escorts stand behind them. In front of the emperor are the domesticated nilgais used to lure wild nilgais, which he is shown shooting. At the top of the painting, a group of elephants and members of the emperor's entourage accompany the hunting expedition. Notably, the painting depicts Aurangzeb hunting without the use of cheetahs **[FIGURE 16]**.

The painting shows a forest with high green trees. Yellow was used in the grassy vegetation. The artist showed the emperor and his men in disguise by wearing green clothes that resemble the environment and painted the nilgai in blue. The lack of paintings showing the use of cheetahs trained during the era of Aurangzeb was because he might consider them a kind of amusement or that he preferred hunting with firearms that were more accurate in hitting, which might be a result of being influenced by Sunni faith, making him oppose music and painting and reduce the paintings and the migration of his studio artists towards the small kingdoms[46].

[FIGURE 16]: Emperor Aurangzeb hunts Nilgais with firearms, Album attributed to Hashim 1660 AD/ 1070 AH © Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. CBL .in 11A.27; PARPIA 2016: 182, FIG.3.

III. ANALYTICAL STUDY

1- History of Taming Cheetahs

Humans have domesticated animals because of their usefulness as food and to use them to perform some tasks that humans cannot do or to save the effort they expend[47]. The cheetah was one of the oldest animals used by Greeks in hunting, and it was depicted on antiques[48]. In ancient Egypt, the cheetah was depicted with its distinctive features on the

[46] WELCH 1978: 113.

[47] SVIZZERO 2016 : 53-68.

[48] WERNESS 2004: 84-85

temples' walls, including the Dair al-Bahari Temple, attributed to Hatshepsut in mentioning the gifts of the Land of Punt[49], which shows a pair of cheetahs being depicted with two guards and tied with strong ropes by their necks **[FIGURE 17].**

[FIGURE 17] Cheetahs in ancient Egypt, Temple of Dair al-Bahari - New Kingdom (circa 1473-1458 BC. PANG et Al. 2017: 18.

The cheetah had religious importance since the early third millennium BC. When the Egyptian goddess Mavidt, which represented justice, protection, and guarding, took the form of a cheetah, the ancient Egyptians believed that the cheetahs carried the souls of the pharaohs after their deaths[50]. In addition, priests used to wear clothes made from the skin of cheetahs as a traditional religious costume in all the Pharaonic eras[51]. Cheetah was used for hunting for the first time in Persia, India, or Afghanistan. Persian literary sources attribute the cheetah hunting to the time of the Sassanids. According to *ShahNama* Ferdowsi (twelfth century), the cheetah was used for hunting with King Bahram Gur and was first tamed by the legendary king Tahmurath[52].

Arabs were well acquainted with hunting and training cheetahs. So, it was reported that the first to train and use cheetahs was Kulaib bin Wael, the first to carry them on horses was Yazid bin Muawiyah, and the most famous for hunting with them was Abu Muslim al-Khorasani[53]. Furthermore, al-Nuwairī[54], Ibn Munqiḏ [55], Āl- Ǧāḥẓ[56], and Kushājim [57], in their writings and the commentators, mentioned them in the interpretation of hunting in the Quranic verses[58].

Cheetah has also been used in hunting in Europe since the thirteenth century AD. It appeared in the margins of books and many Lombard manuscripts prepared in the court of

[49] CASTEL 2002: 17-28.
[50] PANG et Al. 2017: 17-24.
[51] ʿṢFWR 1987: 43.
[52] HENGERER & WEBER 2019: 19
[53] DAMĪRĪ 2003: vol.2, 306.
[54] AL-NUWAIRĪ 1933: vol.9, 248.
[55] IBN- MUNQIḎ 2009: 207.
[56] ĀLJĀḤẒ 2003: vol.4, 283.
[57] KUSHĀJIM 1954: 183-195.
[58] ĀL-TBRY 2000: vol.9, 547.

the Visconti between 1375 and 1425 AD[59]. In ancient India, drawings in the caves of the Chambal Valley in Rajasthan depicted cheetahs that lived in grasslands and deserts in the vast area of Rajasthan since ancient times. Words in the Sanskrit language, such as Chitrak and Dvipi, referred to the cheetah[60]. The first textual evidence of training and using the cheetah for hunting in India appeared in Islamic records in the thirteenth century, where it was called Yuz, a Persian name[61].

Since India came under the Mughal rule in (1526 AD/ 932 AH), their empire extended from Bengal to Bihar and from Kashmir to Kandahar. They controlled natural resources, hunted animals, and exported them to different parts of the world. Cheetahs were a highly popular «commodity» for the rulers of this region and occupied a high position on the list of diplomatic gifts[62].

2- Manifestations of Interest in and Care for Cheetahs in the Mughal era

A. Producing Impressive Paintings of Cheetahs

The Mughal painters were aware of the difference between cheetahs and other animals. They showed the physical characteristics of all of these animals very accurately. For instance, the lion, tiger, leopard, and cheetah could be depicted in one painting attributed to Mādhu Khānazād, representing King Solomon from Diwan Hafez [63]. Painters succeeded in painting cheetahs when they followed emperors on their hunting trips[64]; they tracked the cheetahs and painted them in the pre-hunting stage to study and understand their behavior through the examination of the cheetahs in their natural environment **[FIGURE 3]**, which is attributed to Basawan[65].

There was a wide variety of topics in Mughal painting, and which necessitated specialization in drawing scenes of courts, animals, or plants. The idea was chosen, and the blueprint was created by master painters like Basawan and Daswant in the age of Akbar. About 115 images were attributed to Paswan, who implemented the outline for twenty-two of them, and some paintings were attributed to Daswant[66]. The Mughal artist produced many images of animals. Babur directed his artists to read books and study animals, and his successor Jahangir also took an interest in drawing animals and taking an interest in photographing them. A large number of these animals were photographed, such as lions, leopards, wolves, etc[67].

One of the paintings produced in the Akbar workshop was the capture of the cheetahs in which was outlined by Tulsi and painted by Narayan, as stated in the lower

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[59] BUQUET 2011: 12-47.

[60] SOOD 2020: 35-41.

[61] HENGERER & WEBER 2019: 19.

[62] GROOM 2018: 8.

[63] AKHTAR 1996: 381-386; GRAVES & JUNOD 2011: 280-281, PL.89.

[64] ḤASAN 2003: 83.

[65] ʿUKĀSHAH 1995 :13, pl 61.

[66] VERMA et Al. 1994: 19.

[67] IBRĀHĪMʿALI et Al. 2022: 215- 237.

margin of the painting. The two painters showed how the hunters handled the cheetahs after hunting and put them in the cage professionally **[FIGURE** 5]**.** Another painting was made by La'l and Kēsav Khord[68]. It showed the means of transporting cheetahs in hunting, such as oxcarts and carrying the cheetah on horseback. One of the cheetahs appeared hunting blackbuck and gripping its neck **[FIGURE 7/A]** .

When Jahangir established his court in defiance of his father, he persuaded Govardhan and some artists to join him. Govardhan reached a high position in the Jahangir court. He painted a scene of a cheetah hunting an antelope as an optical metaphor that corresponded to Prince Salem's desire to seize the throne from his father, Akbar[69] **[FIGURE 12].** The production of paintings of cheetahs was the greatest during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir throughout the Mughal era in India.

B. Studies and Knowledge about the Taming and Training of Cheetahs

Hunting with cheetahs was one of the favorite methods of the Mughals, which resulted in studying the cheetahs in terms of anatomical nature, behavioral and skill patterns, and the details of their hunting. This was reflected in their training methods, food allocation, and transportation. Studies on capture, training, diet, and disease treatment added another link between hunting and the pursuit of scientific knowledge. The Mughal emperors' deep connection with the natural world also allowed them to learn about and treat diseases affecting animals in veterinary hospitals called Pinjarapoles. The emperors also carried out and benefited from experiments to learn the behavior of animals. Consequently, they knew the cheetah's ability to jump in Akbar chases with the cheetah Chitr Najan and Jahangir's experiments on animals during hunting. They were interested in the anatomy of animals and knew their physical and behavioral characteristics[70].

The Mughals also realized that hunting is an acquired behavior in carnivores, emphasized by modern studies[71]. They benefited from previous experiences of taming the cheetahs. After hunting a cheetah, they blindfolded their eyes, then placed them in the bag with their heads facing out, and water was given to them if needed. They then placed a metal leash around their neck with a strong rope, and the guard fed them by his hand to become familiar with them, then he made a seat for cheetah like a horse's back, covered with a cloth, and placed food for it on top of this seat. After that, the guard presented them with a calm horse to climb on its back[72]. The cheetahs calmed down when the guard put his hand on their body[73]. The female cheetah is stronger and bolder than the males, and the old cheetah accepts the training more than the small one and more loyal to their keeper[74].

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[68] PARPIA 2019: 39-58.

[69] «Govardhan», https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1939.66, accessed on (29/09/ 2023) .

[70] PARPIA 2019: 39–58.

[71] HILBORN 2012: 701-706.

[72] BĀZ YĀR 1953: 118-120.

[73] AL-NUWAIRĪ 2002: vol.9, 249.

[74] ĀLJĀḤẒ 2003: vol.4, 283.

Cheetahs were trained within two to three months. A cheetah used to hunt three antelopes in the chase. After improving the training method in the era of Akbar, who limited the training period to eighteen days, the cheetah hunted twelve antelopes. Furthermore, Akbar worked on raising the antelopes with cheetahs, but when he released cheetahs to hunt, they hunted only wild antelopes[75]. Through the Shikargah technique, the emperors made certain cheetahs loyal, as only the emperor's family and those he trusted were allowed to enter the ring. Cheetahs and dogs were trusted more than other animals to help the emperors in hunting[76] **[FIGURES 1-2 & 8].** The Mughals also realized the ability of the cheetah to hunt, launch against the direction of the wind, lurk, and issue dust with their feet to confuse their prey. Such experiments were used in taming and training[77].

The Mughals knew the techniques used by cheetahas to hunting: first was stealth; the cheetah kept near the hunters in an inconspicuous place, directed against the wind to smell the prey or hear its sounds; the cheetah attacked in silence with all its rushes strength to catch the deer with their strong claws[78]; the second type was confronting with prey; and the third way was releasing the cheetah in the wake of prey to catch it. The cheetah does not breathe while hunting and should be fed by its prey; it may hunt about 20 times a day but should not be assigned to hunt more than ten times a day[79]. As soon as the cheetah catches its prey, the guard clogs its nose to force it to quit prey[80] **[FIGURE 7/C].**

C. Granting of Ranks, Names and Amenities

Abou El Fadl describes these precious animals, their food and care, showing great interest in the cheetahs as hunting animals[81]. Each cheetah has a name that indicates some qualities. Akbar had a cheetah called Samand Manik, riding a chau-dol, a chariot advancing in great pomp and beating drums in front of the cheetah[82]. Its guards were keen on its comfort and care. Cheetahs were divided into groups according to ranks for easy feeding and care; one group was called Khasaa[83], and guards were allocated to them. Each cheetah had three to four men assigned to it when taking it to hunting or showing. Additionally, the cheetahs got embroidered fabrics, jeweled chains, and mattresses to sit on[84]. The paintings of cheetahs showed their means of transportation, such as the cylindrical or square cages, which were made of bamboo sticks and were carried by wooden supports installed at the bottom of the cages **[FIGURES 5/C, 11 & 19]**.

During hunting, the cheetah was transported on stretchers carried by men or on suspenders hanging on the backs of elephants, horses, or camels. There were carriages

[75] ABŪAL-FAZḶ 1873: vol.1, 285-289.
[76] KOCH 1998: 15.
[77] PARPIA 2019: 39–58.
[78] ABŪAL-FAZḶ 1873: vol.1, 288.
[79] KUSHĀJIM 1954: 183-195.
[80] BUQUET 2011: 12-47.
[81] LEACH 1995: vol.1, 269.
[82] KHAN 2012: 461-469.
[83] RANGARAJAN & SIVARAMAKRISHNAN 2014: 4.
[84] ABŪAL-FAZḶ 1/1873: 285-289.

dedicated to this animal, pulled by horses or cattle or carried directly on the backs of horses[85]. The cheetah behind its owner on the back of a horse also appeared on porcelain belonging to Nishapur, indicating that transporting cheetah on horseback behind its guard was common[86]. The oxcart was the most popular means of transporting cheetahs **[FIGURES 6-7, 10-11 & 15]** and **[FIGURE 7/D]**, horseback used also to transported cheetahs to the hunting area **[FIGURE 7/B]**.

D. Depictions and Artistic Characteristics

The drawings showed many artistic characteristics related to the depictions of cheetahs, including the behavior of cheetahs and the movement and colors that worked to add vitality and realism to these depictions, as follows:

1. Behaviors of Cheetahs

The paintings showed many movements and behaviors that the artists were interested in depicting, which expressed the reality of the activities associated with hunting, training, and using cheetahs. These behaviors appeared in multiple stages of using cheetahs, including:

A. The Cheetah's Behavior in Nature

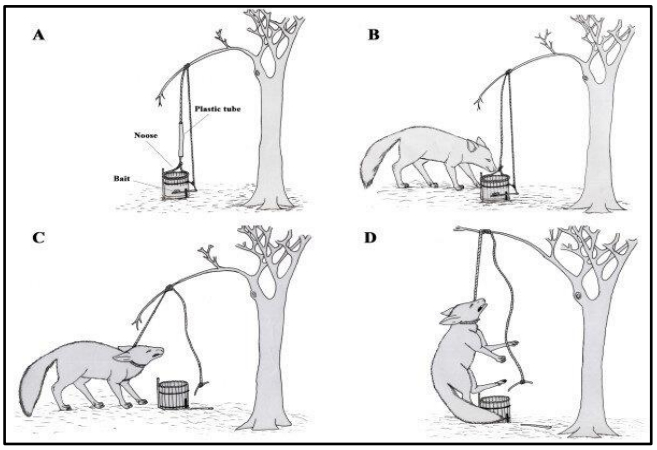
The paintings showed the behavior of cheetahs in nature, governed by some adaptive behaviors, such as food, sex, and fighting, and other behaviors that controlled the life of this animal and satisfied its needs[87]. Therefore, the behavior appeared according to these behaviors. Cheetahs are one of the wild creatures that live in nature in groups that feed on the prey they hunt. Thus, they live freely in a herd and move in a vast area for their speed in running. They make a great effort to reach their prey. The deer was the main meal for cheetahs, but over time, cheetahs have adapted to the environmental situation and have hunted mountain ungulates, goats, and other relatively small prey. Sometimes, cheetahs become a meal for other wild predators, such as lions[88]. The cheetahs sleep straight and do not put their shoulders completely on the ground; they are always in a state of anticipation and alertness[89] **[FIGURE 3],** the painter showed the behavior of the cheetah in its natural environment. He showed a great deal of love and affection that these creatures showed with their cubs.

B. The Behavior of Cheetahs during Capture

Cheetahs were obtained by hunting in the wild in three ways: the first was to make traps like deep holes along their paths; the second was to chase them for a long time to become exhausted and surrender to hunters; and the third was to make traps in some trees

[85] ABŪAL-FAZḶ 1/1873: 285-289.
[86] YĀSYN 2005: 79.
[87] AL-ḤSYNY 2020: 15-17.
[88] DUGATKIN 70/2001: 512-525.
[89] BRADFORD-WRIGHT et Al. 2013: 37.

that cheetahs used to rub their bodies on[90] **[FIGURE 4]**, there was a trap in the ground that was used to capture the cheetah, the nose trap which was an ancient method of capturing animals[91] [**FIGURE 18**], The paintings carried remarkable realism and showed the behavior of this animal during its capture, which sometimes seemed nervous and sometimes appeared as if it had capitulated.



[FIGURE 18]: Noose trap. ALVES et Al. 2009: FIG.8.

The figures showed the moment of capturing the cheetah. In this case, the cheetah was rebellious and unaware of what happened to it by the hunter, whether the cheetahs hunted by traps or chases; it turned to defend itself or attack the hunter. So, the capture process was governed by violent behavior on the part of the animal and trickery and firmness on the part of the hunter who took care of the cheetah and kept it blindfolded. **[FIGURES 4-5 & 11]**

C. Cheetahs' Behavior after Training

The behavior of the cheetah changed after training, as the training needed patience for several months, where the keeper remained with the cheetah day and night to feed and show tenderness to it until the cheetahs got used to his presence [92]. The paintings showed the trained cheetahs in the hunting field quite calmly **[FIGURE 7]**. When the cheetah hunted the prey, it felt selfish and did not give it up easily. Therefore, the hunter dealt with it accurately. Ibn Shakajem says about the psychological state of the cheetah at the time of hunting, «If the cheetah jumps on its prey, it will not breathe until killing the prey; its lungs are filled with the air that it has held; the hunter should rest the cheetah until it is quiet and cools its upset; it should also eat from the prey»[93].

[90] ABŪAL-FAZḶ 1873: vol.1, 285-289.
[91] ALVES ET AL. 2009: 1-16.
[92] BĀZ YĀR 1953: 118-119.
[93] KUSHĀJIM 1954: 184.

D. Cheetahs' Behavior with Humans

It is difficult to give a fair idea of the strange intimacy with animals found in India among those who take charge of it, as the bed of a cheetah is like a guard's. When a cheetah is tamed, we see a cheetah and a human under the same cover[94]. The cheetah was one of the predators that humans have tamed since ancient times. Mughals and others subjugated wild cheetahs using nets, ropes, and their bare hands. Yet, no records indicate that the cheetah killed its captor in self-defense, although it can overcome a man if it wants[95]. Ibn Munqidh reported a girl who was serving the cheetah; she scolded it sometimes, but the cheetah obeyed her with reverence and humiliation. Despite the cheetah's strength[96], this relationship between the cheetah and the girl emphasizes the loyalty of the cheetah to the people who care about it. The paintings showed the human connection with the cheetahs through signals exchanged between them, a language understood by the cheetahs, which listened to their guards' instructions, whether verbal or physical. The communications between the cheetah and their guards can be seen in **[FIGURES 9 & 13].**

2. The Movements in the Paintings

The paintings show a lot of movement stemming from hunting, which consists of prey and predator. Here, they express a state of pursuit and flight. A lot of movements shows inside hunting ring; as the emperor's pursuit the prey with the help of a cheetah and dogs, as well as the launch of prey in front of them at the same speed **[FIGURE 1]**, the same movements representing the hunting ring in **[FIGURE 2]**. In addition to tightness of movement within a closed ring inside which a prey is. In the paintings in which the cheetahs are hunted, confusion is noticed in the movement of people within the pictorial scene, which suggests anticipation and caution **[FIGURE 8]**.

the emperor appears bends with his body to observe the catching of the cheetahs, and two hunters work very hard in **[FIGURE 4]**. A lot of movements in the painting which represents capturing cheetahs. The scene is watched by the emperor and a group of courtiers and men. It is dominated by caution, attention, and surrender of the cheetahs. **[FIGURE 11]**.

As for hunting in nature, we find large groups of hunters and escorts of emperors, as well as bull carts. The images in those scenes were full of movement and effectiveness in more than one chase within the same painting with more than one cheetah and in more than one way, as the paintings showed cheetahs in different positions. One caught the neck of the prey, the other was preparing to attack, and the third sat off in anticipation towards his prey, and each of them had a trainer who helped it identify the prey **[FIGURE 6]**.

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[94] KIPLING 1904: 296.

[95] HUNTER 2013 :12-26.

[96] IBN-MUNQID 2009: 316.

3. **Colors and Realism of Paintings**

Colors give life to the paintings, especially if they resemble the natural environment and its components. The Mughal painting techniques utilized opaque watercolors on paper or clothes, with artists focusing on paper quality, brush manufacturing, and color preparation from environmental materials[97]. In the age of Humayun, he was influenced by Iranian painters, such as Mir Sayyid Ali and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Shīrāzī who worked in his court[98]. Consequently, there was a great impact on the appearance of the Persian Safavid style in Mughal paintings, such as brilliant colors, sponge rocks, and vegetation. Jahangir's (1605–1627 AD) period saw significant development in Indian painting, introducing delicacy in subjects, colors, quality, darkness, and radiance[99]. Paintings had a wide variety of colors, making the sight more realistic. The scenes varied between different hunting areas. Colors resembled the actual colors used for animals. For instance, pale yellow was used in the cheetahs, which were distinguished by black dots. To increase realism, the artist colored the bellies of the cheetahs white and drew the distinctive black line on the faces of the cheetahs.

The artist also used different colors to express wild animals, such as black for elephants or rhinoceros **[FIGURE 13]**, black for Indian antelope, known as blackbuck with distinctive long corkscrew horns, white fur for the chin and around the eyes is in sharp contrast with the black stripes on the face. In males, most of the body was dark brown to black, with white ears, tail, belly, and legs **[FIGURES 1, 6, 8, 12 & 15].** Females and littles animals were yellowish and displayed the same white parts, only with more of a beige tone than the males **[FIGURES 1, 2, 7 & 14-15]**. The nilgai was characterized by a bluish-grey a, with a white part on the throat and hair along the neck with a tuft, while females and juveniles were brown without horns. They appeared in actual color, as in [**FIGURES 12-13 & 16**].

Men's clothing was one of the most colorful elements, it was colored in various colors. It was depicted in bright and clear colors, one of the most used things for the diversity of colors as in the paintings [**FIGURES 1-2, 9-8 & 14]**. The colors of the plants also tended to be dark green, light green, and yellow; the colors of plants in different seasons, which often expressed the hunting environment that resembled the colors of animals.

[97] WELCH 1978: 12.

[98] BARRETT & GRAY 1978: 78.

[99] ʻUKĀSHAH 1995: 117-120.

IV. CONCLUSION

Human interest in cheetahs goes back to ancient civilizations, such as the Greek, Egyptian, and Persian, as depicted on their monuments. India was the home of the Asian cheetah, which has expanded in that food-rich geographical region. Cheetah was mentioned in ancient records back to Ancient India's Chambal Valley caves, which depicted cheetahs, and Sanskrit words like Chitrak and Dvipi referred to these animals.

This research paper showed the status of and the manifestations of interest in the cheetah during the era of the Mughal emperors in India by classifying them and granting them the ranks and titles they deserved in hunting, as well as providing food and methods of care and attention, which were represented in means of transportation, guarding, mattresses, and medical care. Their distinctive paintings indicated increased interest in them during the periods of Akbar or Jahangir.

The paintings showed cheetahs in their natural environment and interest in ways to hunt them safely so as not to get hurt or break their feet during hunting, as Akbar did. The paintings of cheetahs were part of the scientific interest in the cheetah, biologically and artistically. They were painted in nature to study their natural behavior, capture, dressage, and catching prey. The painters used the image of hunting as a metaphor to achieve gains and goals, which is a tradition of Persian literature. For example, it was used by Geffardhan in drawing Prince Salim during a hunt, a metaphor for his aspiration to the throne. The Mughal emperors were interested in hunting with cheetahs. They considered them their favorite sport, but others did not prefer hunting with cheetahs because of the strict religious doctrine that considered hunting with cheetahs fun. The study showed the widespread interest in painting hunting subjects with trained cheetahs, as they were implemented on applied artifacts, such as carpets. The paintings of the cheetah were distinguished by realism, as they showed the behavior of the animal with humans and how humans deal with it at various stages, from its capture to its taming and use in hunting. The artistic characteristics of the depictions were based on the accuracy of the use of colors. For instance, the distinctive colors of cheetahs and their prey were accurately simulated, and the hunting environment and its elements, such as the natural environment or fenced areas, were prepared in advance for hunting.

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LE MONASTERE DE GABAL AL-TAIR: HISTOIRE, ARCHITECTURE ET ART

BY

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **دير جبل الطير: تاريخ، عمارة وفن**

. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إلقاء الضوء على واحداً من أهم الأديرة القبطية المعلقة فى مصر وهو دير جبل الطير. فوفقاً للتقليد القبطى الأرثوذوكسى، حلت العائلة المقدسة بأرض مصر منذ ما يقرب من عشرين قرن من الزمان هرباً من بطش هيرودس ملك بيت لحم بفلسطين والذى أراد قتل السيد المسيح. ويعتقد أن العائلة المقدسة قد استقرت فى مصر ما يقرب من ثلاثة سنوات وأحد عشر شهراً مرت خلالها بمناطق كثيرة بداية من شبه جزيرة سيناء ومروراً بالدلتا والصحراء الغربية والقاهرة ومصر الوسطى إلى أن انتهى بها المطاف فى دير المحرق بأسيوط. وتعتبر منطقة دير جبل الطير من أهم وأجمل وأقدم المواقع الأثرية التى شرفت بزيارة العائلة المقدسة. ويتوافد عدد كبير بانتظام من الزائرين على مدار العام على هذا الدير نظراً لما له من أهمية تاريخية وأثرية وفنية كبيرة سوف نتناولها بالعرض وبالشرح لإلقاء مزيد من الضوء على هذا الموقع الأثرى الهام والذى يعتبرمن روائع فن المعمار القبطى لإدارته تراثياً ولاستغلاله فى التنمية السياحية.

[EN] THE MONASTERY OF GABAL AL-TAIR: HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE AND ART: This study aims to shed light on one of the most important Coptic hanging monasteries in Egypt. Nearly twenty centuries ago, the Holy Family arrived into Egypt escaping from Herodus, king of Bethlehem, who wanted to kill Jesus the Child according to the Coptic Orthodox Tradition. It is believed that the Holy Family spent about three years and eleven months in Egypt. During this period, the Holy Family visited many different places starting from Sinai, the Delta, the Libyan Desert, Cairo, and Middle Egypt and ended up in the Monastery of al-Muharraq at Asyut. The area of the Monastery of Gabal al-Tair is considered as one of the most beautiful and important archeological sites which was blessed by the visit of the Savior. A large number of visitors flock regularly throughout the year to this monastery due to its historical, archeological and artistic value. We shall highlight this monastery because of its importance in the Coptic heritage in order to manage the site heritage and to revitalize the area in tourism development.

MOTS CLES: Mages, roi, montagne, prophétie, Sainte Famille, monastère, église, grotte, plafond, rocheux.

KEYWORDS: Magi, King, Mountain, prophecy, Holy Family, monastery, church, grotto, ceiling, rocky.

I. INTRODUCTION

Il y a à peu près vingt siècles, les Mages ont prédit la naissance du Christ à Bethléem. Apprenant la nouvelle, Hérode le roi de cette ville, ordonna ses soldats de tuer tous les nouveau-nés âgés d'un jour à deux ans parce qu'il avait peur de perdre son trône. L'ange du Seigneur apparut en songe à Joseph le Charpentier et l'ordonna de prendre la Vierge Marie et son Fils, de s'enfuir en Égypte et d'y rester jusqu'à nouvel ordre car Hérode cherchera le Christ Enfant pour le tuer. De nuit, la Sainte Famille s'est déplacée à dos de monture hors de la Palestine. Ensuite, elle arriva à Rapha, Arîch, Péluse puis elle entra dans le Delta, notamment, à Tell Basta près de Zagâzîg. Les saints continuèrent, probablement, leur route à Ouadî Natroûn puis à Hârit Zuwaïla, Mostorod, ᶜAin Shams, Matarîya, Zeitoûn et le Vieux Caire où ils séjournèrent dans une grotte au-dessus de laquelle une église copte dédiée aux saints Serge et Bacchus a été édifiée à la fin du quatrième-début du cinquième siècle ap. J.-C. Plus tard, les saints arrivèrent à Maᶜâdî d'où ils ont pris un bateau pour traverser le fleuve et pour continuer leur route en Moyenne-Égypte où ils visitèrent Ahnas, Achnîn al-Nasâra, Garnous, Oxyrynchus, Hermopolis, Dairoût, Aboû Hinnis, Malawî, Kômm Marîya, Dairoût al-Charîf, Gabal al-Tair, Sambo, Drouka, Qousîya et Qousqâm[1]. Ils s'installèrent, finalement, dans une grotte à Qousqâm au-dessus de laquelle le Dair al-Muharraq a été, plus tard, construit. En fait, l'ordre des endroits visités par la Sainte Famille en Égypte durant ce voyage est encore un sujet de controverse. Ainsi, la prophétie de l'Ancien Testament s'est accompli: «*d'Égypte, j'ai appelé mon Fils*»[2] et «*Bénit mon peuple, l'Égypte*»[3]. Parce que la région de Gabal al-Tair, que nous avons déjà visité plusieurs fois, est une des stations de la Fuite de la Sainte Famille en Égypte[4], nous avons choisi son monastère pour être le sujet de cette étude de point de vue historique, archéologique et artistique dû à sa valeur unique pour gérer le patrimoine du site afin de revitaliser la région dans le développement touristique. Bien que RAMEZ BOUTROS[5] ait écrit sa thèse de Doctorat à propos de ce Monastère, nous traitons dans ce papier l'état actuel du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair et son importance architecturale et artistique dans le domaine du tourisme.

II. HISTOIRE

Le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair est mentionné dans la liste des endroits bénits par la visite de la Sainte Famille durant la Fuite, au premier siècle ap. J.-C., d'après la Tradition Copte Orthodoxe[6]. Édifié sur la rive est du Nil dans la district de Samalloût, à Minieh, en Moyenne-Égypte à presque 2 kms au sud du village de Banî Khâlid, ce Monastère consacrée à la Vierge Marie est connu sous plusieurs noms tels que probablement Monastère de Dair al-Baraka (Monastère de la Bénédiction) parce que les provisions et les visiteurs étaient remontés par moyen de poulie à travers une fissure courant la hauteur de la falaise, Monastère de Gabal al-Tair (Monastère de la Montagne des

[1] Pour plus d'informations à propos de quelques endroits bénits par la visite de la Sainte Famille en Égypte, voir: AL-MAQRIZI 1998; AMELINEAU 1893.

[2] *Mt*. 2/13-15; MENKEN 2005:143-152.

[3] *Es*. 19: 25.

[4] MEINARDUS 1978; YOUSSEF 1999: 48-55; MEINARDUS 2002: 155-156; VALENSI 2002; BRUME 2004; GABRA 2008: 109-110; ASHRAF & SADEK 2011: 13-62.

[5] BOUTROS 2012.

[6] *HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH* 1959: vol.2/3, 227 [text], 361 [trans.]; MARAVAL 1985; BOUD'HORS & BOUTROS 2000: 59-76; PÈRE FRANÇOIS BRUME 2004.

Oiseaux)[7] du nom de la montagne au-dessus de laquelle il fut édifié sur la rive droite du Nil en face de Samâlloût **[FIGURE 1]** et Monastère d'al-Kahf (Monastère de la Grotte)[8]. Signalons, également, d'autres monastères coptes en Égypte qui sont suspendus comme, par exemple, le Monastère de Rifa qui fut à l'origine un des temples de l'Égypte ancienne, le Monastère de Drouka construit à 10 kilomètres loin de la ville d'Asyût et celui de saint Ménas le Miraculeux édifié sur la rive Est du Nil au nord de la ville de Abanoub.

[FIGURE 1]: Le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

Selon ASHRAF et BERNADETTE SADEK, le monastère qui date, probablement, du troisième siècle ap. J.-C. a été bénit par la visite de la Sainte Famille[9]. Toutes les Homélies de la Sainte Famille affirment son arrivée à cet endroit[10]. En parlant d'une de ces Homélies, ASHRAF et BERNADETTE SADEK ont, également, écrit que: «*Ce texte s'inscrit dans une double volonté de développer le culte marial en général et la commémoration du séjour de la Sainte Famille sur le site de Gebel al-Teir en particulier. C'est un texte d'un très grand intérêt, qui, apporte, dans le domaine de l'histoire comme celui de la théologie, un témoignage fort et original. Dans le domaine historique: il reflète la mentalité anti-chalcédonienne qui a fortement marquée l'Église d'Égypte à partir du V^e^ siècle; il témoigne de l'importance du monachisme pacômien dans les milieux égyptiens de l'époque; il rapporte des légendes et croyances païennes en vigueur sur ce site de Moyenne Égypte à cette époque; il est probablement à la source du pèlerinage sur le site de Gebel el-Teir. Dans le domaine théologique: il milite en faveur du culte de la Vierge et, bien sûr, il développe tout une théologie de l'Incarnation associée à la Fuite en Égypte, en particulier autour du thème de l'empreinte de la main du Christ sur le rocher, mais aussi avec des scènes de la vie de la Sainte Famille*»[11]. Ce texte affirme l'importance religieuse et historique du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair à travers les siècles d'autant puisqu'il était un des centres monastiques pacômiens les plus intéressants dès le cinquième siècle ap. J.-C.

À la fin du dixième ou au début du onzième siècle ap. J.-C., l'historien AL-SHABUSHTI[12] a remarqué la nature pittoresque de ce monastère. Il a, aussi, rapporté la légende des oiseaux qui y

[7] COQUIN & MARTIN 1991: vol.3, 715b-716b; *THE ESCAPE TO EGYPT* 1993: 47-53; MEINARDUS 2003: 78-79.
[8] COQUIN & MARTIN 1991: vol.3, 715b-716b.
[9] AL-SHARQÂWÎ et Al. 2005: 32; ASHRAF & SADEK 2011: 129.
[10] *L'HOMÉLIE SUR L'ÉGLISE DU ROCHER ATTRIBUÉE À TIMOTHÉE AELURE* 2001.
[11] ASHRAF & SADEK 2011: 129-130.
[12] AL-SHÂBUSHTÎ 1939: 23, 28.

arrivaient en groupe le jour de la fête du Monastère. Ils y restaient jusqu'à ce qu'un d'eux mettait son bec dans une fissure sans être capable de le retirer.

D'après COQUIN & MARTIN, au début du treizième siècle ap. J.-C., ce Monastère a reçu, à tort, le nom de Gabal al-Kaff (Monastère de la Main) parce que durant la Fuite de la Sainte Famille, le monastère s'est prosterné devant Jésus. Lorsqu'il l'a soulevé, sa main a été imprimée sur le rocher[13] selon le croit la plupart des habitants de cette région. Ils ont aussi indiqué que l'église originale est creusée dans la montagne. Selon OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS: «*This church is hewn out of the mountain side, and in the rock is the mark of the Palm of the hand of the Lord Christ which was made when he touched the mountain … he grasped the mountain, when it worshiped before him, and restored it to its place with his hand, so that the mark of his palm remains impressed upon the mountain*»[14].

En 1168, les Croisés Francs emportèrent la partie du rocher au-dessus de laquelle la main du Christ a été imprimée et ils l'ont pris loin en Syrie. D'après OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, le rocher imprimé par la paume de Jésus a été déplacé et pris en Syrie par Almeric le roi de Jérusalem (1162-1173 ap. J-C.)[15].

L'historien mamlouk AL-MAQRIZI (mort en 1441 ap. J-C.), à son tour, a affirmé que l'accès à la montagne était du côté nord à travers un escalier creusé dans le rocher et il a, également, mentionné la légende d'AL-SHABUSHTI[16] concernant l'avènement des milliers d'oiseaux blancs aux longs becs appelés «*al-Buqiras*».

En 1597 ap. J-C., un moine-prêtre du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair nommé Gabriel était un des membres de la délégation envoyé par le patriarche copte orthodoxe Gabriel VIII (1586-1601 ap. J.-C.) au Pape Clément VIII (1592-1605 ap. J.-C.) pour présenter l'Acte de l'Union entre les églises coptes et romaines[17].

Plus tard, le site a été mentionné par la plupart des voyageurs qui l'ont visité grâce à son remarquable panorama[18] comme par exemple VANSLEB qui a visité l'Égypte durant le 17e siècle[19]. Le monastère était habité par les moines jusqu'au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle ap. J.-C. Cela est prouvé par VANSLEB (1662 ap. J.-C.), F.L. NORDEN (1740 ap. J.-C.), RICHARD (1816 ap. J.-C.), HENNIKER (1819 ap. J.-C.) et LORD CURZON (1838 ap. J.-C.)[20].

III. ARCHITECTURE

L'état actuel du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair, qui donne sur le Nil et qui domine les paysages, est décrit par plusieurs chercheurs. Sur le plan archéologique, le monastère situé à l'ouest de la montagne tout près des cimetières des Coptes, n'a pas reçu les soins des archéologues.

De l'extérieur, le bâtiment de ce monastère paraît être nouveau parce qu'il a été récemment restauré. En effet, il y a deux églises: une supérieure et l'autre inférieure. L'église archéologique, dite l'église du Rocher[21], est une des plus belles églises de l'Égypte **[FIGURES 2-3]**. Elle s'appelle l'église de la Dame de la Main. Elle est taillée dans le rocher sur l'emplacement d'un ancien

[13] COQUIN & MARTIN 1991, vol.3, 715b-716b.
[14] MEINARDUS 2015: 214.
[15] MEINARDUS 2003: 79.
[16] AL-MAQRÎZÎ 1835: vol.2, 503-504.
[17] BURI 1931: 101-264.
[18] VANSLEB 1677: 357; 1678, 214-215; LUCAS 1719: vol.3, 158-160.
[19] VANSLEB 1677: 357.
[20] MEINARDUS 2015: 214.
[21] ASHRAF & SADEK 2011: 13-62.

cimetière égyptien ou probablement romain[22]. Le plan architectural de cette église représente le plan typique de l'église basilicale fréquente partout en Égypte. Ce plan architectural a été retracé par CURZON[23]. Il a été, plus tard, décrit par A.G. BUTLER[24], U. MONNERET DE VILLARD[25] et A. BADAWY[26]. Le plan de l'église du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair apparaît, sérieusement, défectueux. Par exemple, il ignore la porte occidentale, richement, décorée et qui date, probablement, des cinquième-sixième siècles ap. J.-C. selon É. PAUTY[27].

[FIGURE 2]: Le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[FIGURE 3]: Porte d'entrée de l'église du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[22] AL-SHARQÂWÎ et Al. 2005: 33.
[23] CURZON 1849 & 1865.
[24] BUTLER 1884.
[25] DE VILLARD 1925: vol.1, n°105.
[26] BADAWY 1947: 372-373.
[27] PAUTY 1941: 87-88.

À peu près cent soixante-six marches mènent à l'église[28] qui a été construite, en 44 de l'ère des martyrs / 328 ap. J.-C., par l'impératrice romaine la sainte Hélène[29] (248 ou 250-233 ap. J.-C.) mère de l'empereur romain Constantin[30] (324-337 ap. J.-C.) **[FIGURE 4]** comme l'indique la tablette mémorielle fixée sur la paroi ouest de l'église. Plus tard, l'église a été restaurée par l'évêque Sévère de Minieh[31]. Nous y lisons en arabe:

هذه الكنيسة أنشأتها الملكة والقديسة هيلانة
والدة الملك قسطنطين الكبير باسم السيدة العذراء
بدير جبل الطير سنة 328: م الموافق سنة 44 للشهدا وقد اهتم
بتجديدها نيافة الانبا ساويرس مطران كرسى المنيا
والاشمونين سنة 193: م الموافق سنة 1654 للشهداء

En voici la traduction: «Cette église a été construite par la reine et la sainte Hélène, mère du roi Constantin le Grand au nom de la Vierge dans le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair en 328 ap. J.-C./44 de l'ère des Martyrs. Elle a été restaurée par abba Sawiros le métropolitain de Minieh et d'al-Ashmounain en 1938 ap. J.-C./1654 de l'ère des Martyrs». Comme l'indique l'inscription, l'église a été restaurée au vingtième siècle par l'évêque Sévère de la ville de Minieh[32]. De cette inscription arabe, on apprend que l'église du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair est édifiée, au quatrième siècle ap. J.-C., sous les ordres de la sainte Hélène qui a découvert la Croix Sainte du Christ après avoir terminé le pèlerinage à Jérusalem où elle ordonna la fondation de l'Église de la Résurrection. De nos jours, plusieurs églises, cathédrales, régions et îles dans le monde portent le nom de sainte Hélène.

[FIGURE 4]: L'escalier qui mène au Monastère de Gabal al-Tair © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[28] MEINARDUS 2015: 213.

[29] Née au troisième siècle et morte au quatrième siècle ap. J.-C., la sainte Hélène est considérée sainte par les églises catholiques et coptes. Après qu'elle a découvert la Sainte Croix à Jérusalem, elle a ordonné la construction de plusieurs églises et basiliques comme la Basilique de la Nativité qui est, actuellement, parmi l'héritage culturel protégé par l'UNESCO. Après sa mort, son palais est devenu La Basilique sainte croix en Palestine. De nos jours, plusieurs églises portent le nom de sainte Hélène, notamment, en Europe et en Amérique.

[30] *THE ESCAPE TO EGYPT* 1993: 47-53.

[31] MEINARDUS 2003: 78-79; MEINARDUS 2015: 213.

[32] MEINARDUS 2003: 78; MEINARDUS 2015: 213-214.

Le linteau de l'entrée qui se trouve à l'ouest est enrichit de pierres gravées des figures du Christ, des apôtres, de la vigne, des poissons, des croix et des motifs floraux **[FIGURE 5]**. Le reste de ces pierres est, actuellement, à l'étage supérieur de l'église. Le plan basilical de l'église de ce monastère est semblable à celui d'autres églises coptes construites dans d'autres monastères taillés dans le roc en Moyenne et en Haute Égypte **[FIGURE 6]**. À l'ouest, il représente un narthex[33] qui comporte des *mastabas* afin de permettre aux vieillards de s'asseoir tout près des murs. D'après OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, le narthex constitue la partie la plus ancienne de l'église. Ce narthex mène à la nef[34] centrale qui est taillée dans le rocher et qui est plus large que les deux nefs latérales. Les trois nefs sont séparées l'un de l'autre par deux rangées de douze colonnes à chapiteaux nus de décor. Vient après le chœur, aussi, taillé dans le rocher et élevé de presque un mètre. Il contient deux lutrins modernes en bois encastrés. Après, nous trouvons quelques marchent qui mènent aux trois sanctuaires orientales précédées des trois iconostases modernes en bois et qui sont surmontées d'icônes rectangulaires de thèmes décoratifs divers. En effet, il est difficile de préciser par l'œil nu avec certitude le genre du bois des iconostases et d'autres boiseries qui se trouvent dans ce monastère. Cela nécessite quelques analyses scientifiques et chimiques comme ce qui a été déjà fait sur les collections artistiques en bois préservées dans le Musée du Louvre à Paris à la fin du vingtième siècle et du début du vingt-unième siècle.

Le sanctuaire central est dédié à la Vierge Marie. Ces sanctuaires sont précédés de trois marches. Chaque sanctuaire renferme un autel et il est muni d'une abside totalement creusée dans le rocher sur sa paroi Est **[FIGURE 7]**. Ces absides rappellent celles des églises rocheuses de la région d'Antinoë/Antinoopolis. À l'origine, elles étaient encastrées dans une carrière à travers laquelle la voûte a été, récemment, jetée ce qui explique la remarque à propos des églises supérieures et inférieures.

[FIGURE 5]: Linteau de l'entrée qui surmonte la porte de l'église ancienne du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair. © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[33] Le narthex est une sorte de portique ou de vestibule contenant des colonnes ou des piliers et qui mène à la nef d'une église.

[34] La nef centrale est une sorte de salle parfois rectangulaire ou oblongue qui est flanquée à droite et à gauche d'une rangée de piliers ou de colonnes. C'est l'endroit où les Croyants se trouvent durant la liturgie. Elle est précédée par le narthex et elle se termine par le chœur de l'église.

[FIGURE 6]: Chœur et sanctuaires orientaux de l'ancienne église du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair.
© Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[FIGURE 7]: Autel du sanctuaire central de l'ancienne église du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair
© Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

Dans la nef de l'église, nous trouvons la colonne unique en son genre et qui comporte exceptionnellement la cuve baptismale[35] **[FIGURES 8-9]**. D'habitude, elle se trouve au nord de l'église. Sur les fûts de type corinthien[36] des autres colonnes, il y a de petites croix rouges récemment peintes **[FIGURE 10]**. Cela est fréquent dans plusieurs autres églises et monastères coptes notamment au Vieux Caire. Devant l'entrée occidentale richement décorée de l'église, il y a le bassin de *Laqan* qui est de forme circulaire. Il est utilisé le Jeudi Saint par le prêtre pour laver les pieds des Croyants à l'instar du Christ qui a lavé les pieds de ces disciples. Des *graffiti* arabes couvrent les parois intérieures de l'église archéologique. Les profondes niches de l'église de ce monastère sont les plus caractéristiques de toutes les anciennes églises de la Haute-Égypte[37]. N'oublions pas que les *graffiti* des monuments en Égypte comportent parfois plusieurs détails concernant les noms des visiteurs de chaque monument et la date de leurs visites en plus de quelques informations en rapport avec des évènements qui se sont déroulées dans les sites archéologiques égyptiens.

[FIGURE 8]: Cuve baptismale de l'église archéologique © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[FIGURE 10]: Colonnes décorées de petites croix rouges dans l'église archéologique. © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[35] La cuve baptismale est l'élément architectural utilisé pour baptiser les nouveau-nés dans une église.

[36] Les chapiteaux de colonnes de type corinthien, ionique et dorique reflètent l'influence de l'architecture grecque. Le type corinthien est le plus fréquent dans les églises coptes en Égypte. Il comporte une décoration très florale qui rappelle la feuille d'*acanthus*.

[37] MEINARDUS 2015: 214.

Au début du vingtième siècle ap. J.-C., le plafond rocheux a été remplacé par un autre en ciment pour ajouter l'étage supérieur afin d'agrandir l'église. L'entrée originelle de l'église était au-dessus de la grotte située à côté du sanctuaire principal[38]. À l'ouest de la nef sud, une porte mène dans une sorte de vestibule rectangulaire dans le sens est-ouest. Sur sa paroi Est, il y avait autrefois une niche qui surmonte une moderne mosaïque gigantesque qui commémore la Fuite de la Sainte Famille en Égypte. Sa décoration montrait la Vierge Marie vue de trois-quarts à dos de monture en tenant le Christ Enfant contre sa poitrine. Sa tête est couverte d'un *maphorium* de couleur bleu ciel. Elle est vêtue d'une longue tunique rouge. Joseph le Charpentier, barbu et aux longs et larges vêtements rouges et bleus, tient la bride de l'animal avec sa main droite et dans l'autre, il tient un long bâton. Les pyramides de Guizèh apparaissent derrière la Vierge Marie. Les palmiers et la montagne d'al-Moqattam sont vus à gauche de saint Joseph le Charpentier au bord du Nil. Un ange ailé est vu de trois-quarts dans le ciel de couleur bleue marine. Toute cette scène était encadrée dans une large frise verte décorée à intervalles régulières de petites croix rouges et blanches. Cette scène est fréquente dans la décoration de plusieurs icônes, peintures murales, manuscrits et autres chefs-d'œuvre coptes en pierre et en métal avec moins ou plus de détails selon la culture et la conception de chaque artiste.

Les traces des anciens bâtiments marqués de croix, taillés dans le rocher et indiqués par l'historien mamlouk AL-MAQRIZI n'ont pas été examinées par les spécialistes jusqu'à présent. À l'époque moderne, Abba Paphnatios qui était l'évêque de Samâlloût a entreprit le développement de la région de Gabal al-Tair[39] ce qui a attiré beaucoup de visiteurs et des milliers de pèlerins qui s'affluent, jusqu'à nos jours, toute l'année notamment de Minieh, d'Assiout et du Caire pour y célébrer les fêtes de la Vierge Marie surtout la fête de sa dormition le 21 toûba/29 janvier[40] et la fête de son ascension le 16 *misra*/22 août[41]. En 1903, AHMAD PACHA KAMAL a entrepris des fouilles archéologiques dans le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair. J. DORESSE, à son tour, a mentionné le mémorial du moine Abou Fis dont le nom est porté par une des cités de Minieh[42] et qui s'appelle Minieh Abou Fis où une église lui a été dédiée. Un chemin spécial a été, récemment, tracé pour relier le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair avec la nouvelle route orientale du Caire-Aswân tout près de l'usine du ciment de Samâlloût.

IV. ART

Dans l'église, plusieurs icônes rares et précieuses sont en rapport avec le Christianisme. Leurs décorations représentent différentes étapes des cycles mariologique et christologique[43]. Ces icônes sont de formes, de dimensions et de dates diverses. Quelques-unes de ses icônes peuvent être comparées avec celles de la collection artistique du Musée Copte du Caire notamment celles qui montrent la Vierge Marie et le Christ et qui reflètent parfois les influences des arts grecs et byzantins. De l'antiquité au jour présent, l'icône a eu un rôle considérable dans la liturgie de l'Église Copte Orthodoxe surtout durant la célébration des fêtes.

Dans la grotte rocheuse où fut le séjour de la Sainte Famille selon le croient les habitants de la région, il s'agit de plusieurs icônes de dimensions variées parmi lesquelles une montre la Vierge

[38] AL-SHARQÂWÎ et Al. 2005: 33.
[39] AL-SHARQÂWÎ et Al. 2005: 34.
[40] BASSET 1915: 507-859.
[41] MEINARDUS 2003: 79; 2015: 214.
[42] DORESSE 1970: 13.
[43] ABU SALIH THE ARMENIAN 1895: 223-224.

Marie la *Théotokos* qui emporte le Christ Enfant contre sa poitrine (**FIGURES 11-12**). Vue de trois-quarts en regardant à gauche, sa tête auréolée est décorée d'une grande couronne. Jésus tourne sa tête auréolée à gauche. Vus de trois-quarts, ils se donnent les mains et ils sont flanqués de deux anges ailés et vus aussi de trois-quarts qui apparaissent à gauche et à droite sur un arrière-plan doré. Signalons, enfin, que dans l'art copte, la Vierge Marie est montrée dans différentes attitudes[44]. Le Christ, lui-aussi, est représenté dans diverses attitudes[45] dans la décoration copte d'après les différents évènements de sa vie. Enfin, dans la bibliothèque du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair, il y a une riche collection de manuscrits qui comportent beaucoup de détails à propos de l'histoire du Christianisme et du monachisme copte. N'oublions pas que d'autres manuscrits rédigés en syriaque, en grec, en copte et en arabe ont été découverts dans plusieurs monastères et églises coptes en Égypte. En général, la décoration de tous ces manuscrits offre beaucoup de détails à propos de l'histoire et des miracles des moines, des saints et des martyrs coptes en Égypte.

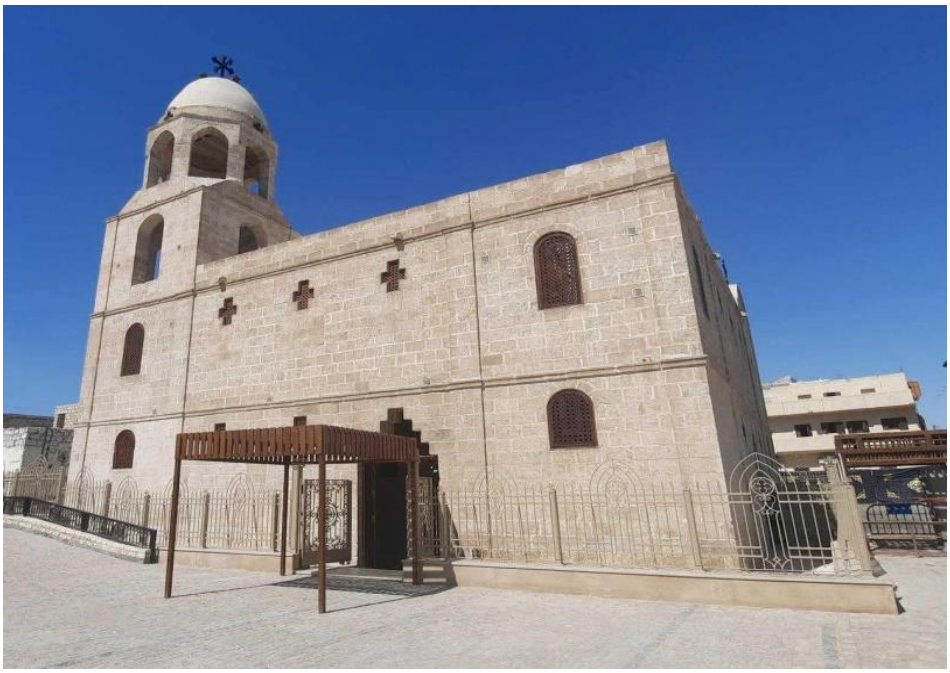
[FIGURE 11]: Grotte du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[FIGURE 12]: Icône de la Vierge Marie *Théotokos* dans la grotte du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair. © Cliché de la chercheuse (Février 2013).

[44] EL GENDI 2010: vol.2: 38-66.

[45] EL GENDI 2013: 209-246, PLS. I-XXIV.

Grâce à la valeur historique et archéologique de ce monastère copte récemment restauré (**FIGURE 13**), il est indispensable de développer la région archéologique du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair pour encourager le développement touristique du gouvernorat de Minieh où nous trouvons plusieurs monuments de l'Égypte ancienne, gréco-romaine, chrétienne et islamique. En Effet, les attractions touristiques de cette ville mènent au développement de plusieurs types de tourisme comme le tourisme culturel, sportif, récréatif et écologique, le tourisme des conférences et du ballon pour voir les montagnes, les formations géologiques, les vallées, les pâturages, les tours de pigeons et les vastes terrains agricoles à Minieh. L'organisation des expositions artistiques et archéologiques dans les différents sites historiques, des camps et des compétitions de pagaie, de chasse et d'alpinisme sont également nécessaires pour augmenter l'attraction touristique dans la région du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair et dans le gouvernorat de Minieh.



[FIGURE 13]: Entrée et façade principale actuelle du Monastère de Gabal al-Tair; https://en.wataninet.com/coptic-affairs-coptic-affairs/coptic-affairs/mountain-of-the-birds-new-site-opened-on-trail-of-holy-family-in-egypt/39296/, consulté le (30/09/2024).

En accord avec les tendances mondiales de restauration et de protection du patrimoine contre l'extinction, la gestion de l'héritage culturel sur ce site historique et archéologique est devenue urgente. Ainsi, il faut tenir compte de l'amélioration des réseaux routiers munis des signes indicatifs et des cartes explicatives plus modernes pour faciliter l'accès des visiteurs à ce monastère et aux autres sites archéologiques dans la ville de Minieh. En d'autres paroles, le nettoyage, la restauration et le développement périodique de toutes les parties du monastère et des routes qui y mènent et celles qui les relient à d'autres sites patrimoniaux du même gouvernorat sont parmi les exigences les plus importantes de la direction culturelle générale de la région.

Il est indispensable d'améliorer les services du transport fluvial en étendant la construction des quais tout près des régions archéologiques et touristiques, et aussi, du transport aérien en construisant plus d'aéroports pour éviter l'embouteillage sur les routes terrestres à Minieh.

Un soin particulier doit être approprié aux ressources humaines dans la ville pour améliorer l'éducation et augmenter la conscience et l'activité touristique dans la région qui entoure le

Monastère copte de Gabal al-Tair et pour éliminer l'indiscriminé et pour arrêter les vagabonds qui gênent d'habitudes les touristes.

En addition, il est important d'attirer les entrepreneurs pour investir dans les sites patrimoniaux à Minieh afin de garantir la fondation des lieux de divertissements modernes, des jardins et des parcs, des centres commerciaux, des hôtels, des motels qui peuvent satisfaire tous les goûts. De plus, les petites et les moyennes entreprises de l'artisanat qui reflètent le folklore égyptien et copte publique dans cette ville doivent être développées à court et à long terme. Enfin, il faut activer le rôle des universités égyptiennes, des institutions culturelles et du Ministère de Tourisme et des Antiquités afin d'accroître la publicité touristique et de moderniser les programmations de la commercialisation traditionnelles et virtuelles dans le gouvernorat de Minieh. Ajoutons, par ailleurs, que cette région historique et archéologique doit avoir un code international pour faciliter la préservation de ces attractions touristiques en collaboration avec le Ministère du Tourisme et des Antiquités et plusieurs organisations mondiales de la conservation de l'héritage culturel.

V. CONCLUSION

Bref, l'évènement biblique de la Venue du Sauveur en Égypte d'après la Tradition Copte Orthodoxe est le thème par excellence de la Coptologie. Cet évènement religieux est, annuellement, célébré en Égypte dans la plupart des monastères et des églises coptes le 24 *bachons*/1er juin. Récemment restauré, le Monastère de Gabal al-Tair qui est un des monastères suspendus est une des destinations religieuses et touristiques les plus importantes pour la communauté copte orthodoxe. La décoration des icônes, de formes et de dimensions diverses, trouvées dans ce monastère, représentent des figures humaines en rapport avec le Christianisme et le thème de la Fuite de la Sainte Famille en Égypte. À travers les siècles, ce monastère a attiré l'attention de plusieurs historiens et voyageurs qui l'ont décrit en détails. Les archéologues, les historiens de l'art et les visiteurs se rendent sans cesse à ce monastère grâce à son importance historique, archéologique et artistique, sa valeur incomparable dans le monde, sa grotte et sa situation géographique distinguée par les *panoramas* naturels uniques. N'oublions, finalement, pas que la région où se trouve ce monastère a besoin d'améliorer et de diversifier la qualité des services touristiques fournis aux visiteurs à travers des stratégies à court et à long terme et à travers des recherches approfondies et des projets rapidement applicables et réalisables à court terme pour bien protéger et diriger ce site archéologique en respectant les lois, les traités et les conventions internationaux à cet égard. Ainsi, la planification stratégique et la direction générale de l'héritage culturel et architectural sur ce site est indispensable pour augmenter le nombre des visiteurs à ce monument important et pour le développement touristique de la région et de la ville où il est édifié.

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THE TERM «ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ» MEZOTEROS THROUGH THE COPTIC DOCUMENTS

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **المصطلح «ميزوتيروس» من خلال الوثائق القبطية**

ذخرت الوثائق القبطية بالكثير من المصطلحات الهامة التي أختلفت أصولها مابين أصول يونانية وقبطية (مصرية قديمة) وعربية؛ حيث عاصرت تلك الوثائق حقب تاريخية مختلفة، وإنطلاقًا من ذلك تسعى هذه المقالة إلى تقديم دراسة وافية موجزة تغطي الجوانب اللغوية والحضارية للمصطلح ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ «ميزوتيروس» الذي أستخدم في العديد من الوثائق القبطية كلقب رسمي يعبر عن مسمى وظيفي لمسؤول إداري يتبع السلطة الحاكمة تتمركز مهامه وأنشطته داخل حدود القرية، ويمكن إعتباره حلقة الوصل بين السلطة الحاكمة وبين المواطنين، ويقع عليه عبء الإتصال المباشر بأهالي القرية، فقد تعددت وتنوعت مهام الميزوتيروس التي من خلالها يمكن إلقاء الضوء على بعض الجوانب المالية والقانونية والإدارية للمجتمع القبطي في ذلك الوقت، فهذه المهام تقدم دليل على الأنشطة اليومية بمستوياتها المختلفة داخل القرى، ويمكن تقسيم مهام الميزوتيروس بشكل أساسي إلى مهام تتعلق بتنفيذ قرارات السلطة الحاكمة مثل: جباية الضرائب العينية والنقدية وتجنيد أهالي القرية وإصدار خطابات الحماية وخطابات الضمان، ومهام أخرى تتعلق بتسيير شؤون أهالي القرية مثل: تلقي شكاوي أهالي القرية وفصل النزاعات وتسوية المبراث بين المواطنين وإبرام العقود، ويلاحظ أن جميع مهام الميزوتيروس تندرج تحت نطاق مهام وأنشطة دنيوية متعلقة بالأمور الحياتية اليومية بالقرية فقط، وأنه لم يشارك في أي أنشطة دينية مطلقًا، وتتطرق المقالة إلى مناقشة قضية ترادف مصطلح الميزوتيروس مع مصطلحات أخرى وطرح ما خلصت إليه الدراسة، بالإضافة إلى محاولة حصر جميع الأقباط الذين تقلدوا هذه الوظيفة، والتعرف على كيفية إختيارهم وتعيينهم. وتحقيقًا لذلك يتبع البحث منهجية التحليل اللغوي الدقيق جنبًا إلى جنب مع التحليل الحضاري للوثائق القبطية (المنشورة حتى الآن) المتعلقة بالميزوتيروس، والتي أمكن تحديد تأريخها بالقرن السادس وحتى القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي.

[EN] Coptic documents are replete with many important terms written in Greek, Coptic (ancient Egyptian), and Arabic. These documents are from different historical eras. Based on this, the article seeks to provide a brief comprehensive study covering the linguistic and social contexts of the term ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ, which was used in many Coptic documents as an official title of an administrative official affiliated with the ruling authority. His duties and activities are concentrated within the village, and he can be considered the liaison between the ruling authority and the citizens. The burden of direct contact with the village people falls on him. The roles of a ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ were many and varied, and can highlight some of the financial, legal, and administrative aspects of Coptic society at that time. These roles oversee different aspects of life, providing evidence of various day-to-day activities within villages. The function of a ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ can be basically divided into tasks related to implementing the decisions of the ruling authority including collecting in-kind and money taxes, recruiting the village people, issuing letters of protection and letters of guarantee, and other tasks related to managing the village affairs. These miscellaneous taxes consist of receiving complaints from the village people, settling disputes, settling inheritances between citizens, and settling contracts, all of which fall within the scope of worldly tasks and activities related to village daily life. However, the ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ did not participate in any religious activities at all. This article discusses the issue of synonymizing the term ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ with other terms, and attempts to identify all Copts who have assumed this profession in order to find out how they were selected and appointed. To achieve this, the research will provide careful philological analysis of Coptic documentary texts (the hitherto published), related to the term «ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ» which dates from the 6th until 14th AD centuries.

KEYWORDS: Higher authority, local official, village, protection, guarantee, tasks, taxes.

I. INTRODUCTION

In general, Coptic documents are an invaluable source, providing snapshots of Egyptian life. Studying these snapshots together can allow us to better understand the events and interpersonal relationships that shaped Coptic society. The Coptic documents in this study varied between letters of a semi-official nature either from the villagers or addressed to them as letters of protection: guarantees, sales and leases contracts, inheritance settlement and dispute, and taxes. This group reveals the official activity carried out by ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ, whether administrative, financial or legal, which prove that the Islamic government[1] kept Byzantine organizational administrative structure and left the management of villages in the hands of the local rural elites.[2] One of the most important reasons for choosing the research topic is that there is no previous study that talks about ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in the Coptic texts, although some studies have dealt with this title in other historical periods. These studies are:

1. Steinwenter's *Studies on the Coptic legal documents*[3] study deals with Lashane, Duke, Dioiketies, and Protokomities, but did not address the function of Meizoteroc. However, it referred to Meizoteric when talking about the previous functions and mentioned that this title is sometimes equivalent to the titles Lashane and Protokomities. But this study relied mainly on Greek texts rather than Coptic ones.
2. The article written by GHADA MOHAMMAD[4] sheds light on the function of al-Mazut through Arabic documents. However, this this study is far removed from this research in time and in the nature of the documents considered here.
3. Lajos Berkes's *Village administration and village community in Egypt from Diocletian to the Abbasids*[5] discusses the village in general.

Berkes dissects the evidence for the terms used in late antique Egypt to describe a community such as: πρωτοχωμηται, μεζότεροι, μείζονες, and the Coptic terms ϩⲁϣⲁⲡⲉ , ⲁⲡⲉ. It must be noted that this study is based mainly on Greek documents not only in Egypt, but also in the rest of the Byzantine Empire. The research used the word al-Mezoteros as an English translation of the Coptic title ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in the singular form, while using the word Al-Mawazit in the plural.

The research is divided into four parts: the first part covers the linguistic background of the term ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ. The second part discusses the issue of synonymizing the term

[1] Wickham argues that Arabic administration was characterized by a high degree of continuity regarding the Roman financial system, for more: HAYES & SCHEERLINCK 2020: 3-14; «Procedures of Protection. Coptic Protection Letters and Village Life», http://journals.openedition.org/anisl/7173, accessed on (02/05/2023).

[2] For more information on acts and mechanisms of administration in the villages of the countryside of Egypt after the Arab conquest: SIJPESTEIJN 2013: 49-113.

[3] STEINWENTE 1920: 40-50.

[4] MOHAMMED 2021: 949- 982; «al-Mazut (Sheikh of the village) in Egypt in the era of governors in light of Arabic Papyrus (21-254 AH/641-868 AD», https://bcps.journals.ekb.eg/article_205976.html, accessed on (02/01/2023).

[5] BERKES 2017: 53-180.

ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ with other terms. The third part deals with the roles and attributions of ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ. The fourth part includes the names of the Copts who held this office and attempts to explain how they assumed this position. The research concludes with the most important results.

II. The Linguistic Aspect of The Term «ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ»

The Coptic word ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ is a term of Greek origin μειζότερος[6], and is a title indicating an administrative position in which one of top officials is appointed. The usage of this title in documentary sources generally dates back to the beginning of the 4th century until the 14th century AD. We find this title widespread in Greek, Byzantine, Coptic, Arabic and Egyptian Nubian documents.

This office was not limited to Egypt, but was widely spread throughout the late Roman and Byzantine Empire. The position is documented in the Western Roman Empire and its successor states as well as in Byzantium with the title «maior domus».The titles μειζότερος and maior domus referred to the same office holders[7]. The Coptic title ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ and its equivalent Greek title μειζότερος also occurs in medieval Nubian sources dating from 7th to 14th century AD[8]. There is another Greek title, μείζων, mentioned in some papyrus studies[9] and which is treated as a synonym for the title μειζότερος[10]. «The term 'μείζων' dates back to the beginning of the 3rd century AD and is derived from the classical comparative form of the adjective 'μέγας', meaning 'the greatest»[11]. Both words μειζότερος and μείζων acquired special meaning in the Egyptian administrative language as early as the 3rd until the 4th century AD. During this time, the words were used in papyri as a form of politeness to address any superior official without referring to a specific individual. It is only a designation for officials and was not a position in the hierarchy of village administration[12]. During the Byzantine era, it is clear that the word μείζων began to mean «village head»[13]. On the other hand, the word μειζότερος is sometimes understood as a synonym for the village board μείζων, but sometimes the word μειζότερος has its own meanings, as this term is polysemantic. The word could also refer

[6] Liddell & Scott 1986: 2448, *FD* 2002: 509.

[7] Berkes 2017: 120.

[8] *SB Kopt* 2006: vol.3, Nº.1645; *I.Lips. Kopt* 2013: Nº.58; *Dbmnt*, Nºs.515, 634-635.

[9] Liddell & Scott 1986: 2448.

[10] Steinwenter 1920: 41; Berkes 2017: 53.

[11] Girgis 2010: 124; Berkes 2017: 53.

[12] Rouillard 1928: 69; Berkes 2017: 82.

[13] The first reliably datable document that shows title μείζων used to designate a village official is a collection of eleven Arsinoy land declarations from the year 302. Village officials were present as witnesses to declarations, and this meaning continued until 8th century AD. Meanwhile, μείζων is used for the head of the village, and a member of the village board in the late seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century. This is evidenced in a papyrus containing a tax record in which a sum of money was paid by the μείζων «the village head». Berkes 2017: 54, 63.

to the head of a village, leader of bucellary[14] and manager of a large estate. Therefore, it is likely that both titles μειζότερος and μείζων were not synonymous[15].

It is clear from the Coptic documents that the Greek title μείζων was not used. Instead, the term ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ was used to express a function related to the ruling authority, as it refers to an employee or official in the village[16] who is identified as «a village head - Omdah»[17]. It should be noted that the term ⲙⲉⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ was also used as an adjective and not as a job title. However, its use as an adjective is uncommon only appearing in only one document, as follows[18]:

«ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ … Ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲙⲙⲁ ⲡⲙⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ… ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓⲟⲓⲕⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ» «this solides of wheat... to go to the place, what is preferable… (wheat) and oil fix them. «Meanwhile the common and basic usage of the term ⲙⲉⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ is as a masculine title for a male profession. This title is always written before the name and mentioned in Coptic documents with the masculine definite article preceding it[19]. When used for plural instances, there is no article that precedes the title[20]. The title is also used in Coptic documents dated between the 6th -14th centuries AD, appearing in multiple forms and abbreviations **[TABLE 1]**.

[14] The association between μειζότερος and bucellary is questionable, although the study of some texts proves this connection in some cases. In one of the papyri (dated to the 6th-7th century), the μειζότερος is asked to send wine through νεώτερος «bucellary», and in another papyrus (also dated to the 6th-7th century), καθοσιωμένος μειζότερος is mentioned, while the title καθοσιωμένος is known to have been applied to military and civil officials who are organized on a military basis. HORNICKEL 1930: 18; FIKHMAN 1970: 132; FIKHMAN 2006: 47.

[15] BERKES 2017: 53, 57.

[16] *FD* 2002: 509; GIRGIS 2010: 124.

[17] SAID 2012: 13.

[18] REVILLOUT 1902: 42, Nº.58, L.6.

[19] For example: ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ. *P LAUR* 1984: Nº.198.

[20] For example: ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲍ. *ST* 1922: Nº.432.

Provenance of Documents	ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in complete forms (singular)	ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in abbreviated forms (singular)	ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in plural form	ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in compound title
The Coptic documents from Egypt	ⲙⲉⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[21] ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[22] ⲙⲏⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[23] ⲙⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[24] ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[25]	ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟ[26], ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣ[27], ⲙⲏⲍⲟⲧⲍ[28] μ[ε] [29] μειζο[30] μειζω[31]	ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲍ[32] ⲙⲏⲍⲍ[33],	
The Coptic documents from Nubian	ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[34]	ⲙⲉⲓⲍ[35] ⲙⲉⲓⲍ[o][36] ⲙⲓⲍⲟ[37] ⲙⲏⲍⲱ[38]		ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲏⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟ[39], ⲡⲣⲟⲧⲟⲙⲏⲍⲓⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ[40] ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲏⲍⲱ[41]

[TABLE 1]: Forms and Abbreviations of Title ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ © Done by the researcher

There are many titles associated with the Copts Mawazit, which varied between honorary, religious, and functional designtations, which could shed light on their social status. The following shows all titles of the Coptic Mawazit in Coptic documents **[TABLE 2]**.

[21] *Omh* 1952: Nº.150.
[22] *BM* 1905: Nº.1051; *P. RYL. COPT* 1909: Nº.305; *P LAUR.* V 1984: Nº.198, L.2, 9.
[23] *CPR* 1895: vol.2, Nº.XCIX; *CPR* 1959: vol.4, Nº.189c; ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.3.
[24] REVILLOUT 1902: 42, Nº.58, L.6.
[25] *P.RYL. COPT* 1909: Nº.178; ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.14
[26] REVILLOUT 1880: 101-107; *KRU* 1912: Nº.37; *BM* 1905: Nº.423; TILL 1954: 118.
[27] *BM* 1905: Nº.1160.
[28] *CPR* 1895: vol.2, Nº.XCVIII; *CPR* 1959: Nº.15.
[29] ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.23.
[30] *P.LOND* 1910: vol.4, 438, Nº.1494; TILL 1958: 191, Nº.32; MACCOULL 1997: 125-135; *TM*: Nº.19920.
[31] STERN 1884: 152-159; ERMAN & KREBS 1899: 270-277; *KRU* 1912: Nº.10; TILL 1964: 102-104; MACCOULL 2009: 78-81; CROMWELL 2017: 143-144.
[32] *ST* 1922: Nº.432; TILL 1939: Nºs.22, 27-28; CALAMENT 2003: 42; HASITZK 2006: Nº.1368; *TM*: Nº. 83719.
[33] *KRU* 1912: Nº.12.
[34] VLIETl 2002: 186, L.3-4; *SB KOPT* 2006: vol.3, 165, Nº.1645; *TM*: Nº.101499, *DBMNT*: Nº.626.
[35] *P. QI* 2014: vol.4, Nº. 89; BERKES 2017: 119; *DBNT*: Nº. 2832; GIOVANNI 2012: 231; *TM*: Nº. 371326.
[36] RICHTER 1999: 297; *SB KOPT* 2006: vol.3, 150, Nº.1602; RICHTER et Al. 2013: Nº.58; *TM*: Nº.110998; *DBMNT*: Nº.566.
[37] KRALL 1900: 237; *TM*: Nº.141669; *DBMNT*: Nº.634.
[38] *DBMNT*: Nº.635, *TM*: Nº.141670; KRALL 1900: 239; BERKES 2017: 119
[39] GIOVANNI 2012: 51; *P. QI* 2014: vol.4, Nº. 95; BERKES 2017: 119; *DBNT*: Nº. 2837; *TM*: Nº.371331.
[40] *P. LOND* 1910: vol.4, Nºs.445,449; *DBMNT*: Nºs.630- 631; *TM*: Nºs.86137- 86138.
[41] *DBMNT*: Nºs.635; *TM*: Nºs.141670; KRALL 1900: 239; BERKES 2017: 119.

Title	Meaning	Sort of title	Publication
ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ,	Chief of priests	Religious title	REVILLOUT 1880: 101-107; *BM* 1905. Nº.423; *KRU* 1912: Nº.37.
ⲁⲡⲁ	Father[42]	Honorary and monastic title	REVILLOUT 1880: 101-107; *BM* 1905: Nº.423; *P. RYL. COPT* 1909: Nº.178; *P. LOND* 1910: vol.4, Nº. 1494; *KRU* 1912: Nº. 37; BÜRG 1958: Nº.32; *P LAUR* 1984: vol.5, Nº.198.
ⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁ[43]	Amir	Functional title	*KRU* 1912: Nº.12.
Ⲁⲓⲛⲕⲁⲓⲧ	Ruler	Functional title	*KRU* 1912: Nº.12.
Ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ	Superior[44]	Functional title	*P LAUR* 1984: vol.5, Nº.198.
Ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ	Lord[45]	Honorary title	*BM* 1905: Nº. 1160; KRU 1912: Nº.12; ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.14; *P LAUR* 1984: vol.5, Nº.198.
Μακαριωτ	Blissed[46]	Religious title	*KRU* 1912: Nº.12.
Ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲥ	Master[47]	Honorary title[48]	*BM* 1905: Nº. 3; ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.3; *P LAUR*. 1984: vol.5, Nº.198.

[TABLE 2]: Titles associated with the Copts Mawazit © Done by the researcher.

After the Arab conquest of Egypt (641 AD)[49], the Arabs translated the title ⲙⲉⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ into «Mazut»[50]. In Arabic Papyri the forms of the this title are «Mazut - Mazuta - Mawazit (pl.) »[51]. This term was used to refer to «Chief of village, judge»[52], and it was used in the papyri of the ruler «Qurra bin Sharīk»[53], where it can be translated as «the owner of village»[54].

[42] For more information see: WIPSZYKA 1994: 23–56; EISSA 2014: 115-124.

[43] Often the Pagarch, it is Arabic title for a senior official, see: CROMWELL 2017: XXII.

[44] *FD* 2002: 693; SAID 2010: 128.

[45] *CD* 1939: 787.

[46] *FD* 2002: 496.

[47] *FD* 2002: 453.

[48] Title of respect, is held by a high-ranking official such as the manager and notary, see: SAID 2010: 139.

[49] Al-Kindī mentions that the Umayyad Caliph Omar ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz (8th century) decreed that the Copts Mawazit were to be removed and replaced by Muslims from the pagarchies, but the Akhmim declaration disapproves this opinion, since out of 54 witnesses only 2 were Muslim, while the rest are Copts, 22 of whom were Mawazit, see: SCHUBERT & SIJPESTEIJN 2014: 140.

[50] MOHAMED 2021: 952.

[51] MAĠAWRT 2000: 797.

[52] KAMAL 1968: 71; SAID 2010: 132.

[53] Qurra archive is one of the greatest resources for the study of the administrative, economic, and linguistic reality of the life in Egypt during the early 8 century, see: CROMWELL 2017: XII; and for more the ruler Qurra bin Sharīk see: AHMED 1992: 88,89,90.

[54] GASIR 2004: 146.

III. The Issue of Synonymizing the Term ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ With other Terms

The opinions of researchers differed and varied on this aspect, so this study attempted to insight and understand most of these opinions. Some of the points that can be clarified from these different perspectives are as follows:

- There is one hypothesis that the term ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ is synonymous with each of the following titles: ϩⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ[55]– μειζων– πρωτχωμητης- διόικητας. In fact, all of these titles are closely related to village administration. Naturally, they were identical in some roles and responsibilities, but they certainly differed in career progression within the state's administrative structure, and their use differed from one historical era to another. Furthermore, their use may also have differed from one geographical region to another.
- Most opinions[56] based their hypothesis on studying these titles in Greek and Byzantine documents, which contain a lot of evidence that these titles were synonymous[57].
- «Some researchers have generalized their hypothesis concerning the synonymy of interpreting the term 'meizoteroc' in Coptic documents».
- «ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ» did not appear in Coptic documents as a synonym for any other title except in two documents:

The First Document

A guarantee document from Aphrodite (Kom Ishqaw) in which the ⲙⲉⲓϣⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ guarantees villagers who were recruited to work as sailors for the ruling authority[58]. In the fourth line, the name Apa Kuros is mentioned with title ϩⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ: «+ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡϣⲉ ⲛⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏϩ ⲡϩⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ», and was later rewritten at the end of the document, lines 43 and 47, in Greek, with title ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ: «Απα Κυρος Σαμουηλ μειζº».

The Second Document

A guarantee document from Aphrodite in which two ⲙⲉⲓϣⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ were guaranteing a sailor[59]. In the third line[60], the name Kolothe is mentioned with the title ϩⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ: «ⲕⲟϩϩⲟⲩⲑ ⲡϣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁϩⲉⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲡϩⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ», but was later rewritten at the end of the

[55] Crum mentioned that this title is sometimes equivalent to that of πρωτχωμητης, and sometimes to that of μειζότερος. Crum & Evelyen 1924: 176.

[56] For more about these opinions, see: Steinwenter 1920: 36-45; Rouillard 1928: 69-70; MIBLER 1970; 10 ff; Schmelz 2002: 296-309; Berkes 2017: 53-92; Papconstantinou 2020: 153-158.

[57] Berkes stated that there is great difficulty in distinguishing between the nature and functions of the various village officials mentioned in these documents. This difficulty is perhaps increased by a tendency to use some of them in both a narrow broad senses. Berkes 2017: 2.

[58] *P.Lond* 1910: vol.4, 438, Nº.1494.

[59] *P.Lond* 1910: vol.4, Nº. 1499.

[60] There is a missing part that may have included the name of the other Mezoteros with title of Lashane as well.

document, lines 19 and 21, in Greek, with title ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ: «πατερμουθ μηνα μειζο απο επoικο βοννω κολλονθουουαλεντιου μειζο απο επoικο Σακοορε».

Many Coptic scholars[61] favored the hypothesis that the title ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ was synonymous with the Coptic title Ϫⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ perhaps based on what was stated in the two documents P. Lond. Nos.494, 1499.[62] However, by studying the Coptic documents related to ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ, the research suggests[63] that this term is not synonymous with title Ϫⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ. What was stated in the two documents can be attributed to an error by the writer «Theodore», who wrote these documents. Both documents include the same subject, and their Provenance is «Aphrodite». Perhaps the scribe «Theodore» thought that the word μειζο was an abbreviation for μειζων which was equivalent to the title Ϫⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ in Greek documents[64]. But in fact, the word μειζο is an abbreviation for the title ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ, and the Copts did not use the title μειζων in their documents. This opinion is reinforced by the fact that no other Coptic document bearing this synonym was found.

Finally, it can be said that the term ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in the Coptic documents was clear and explicit, referring to the village official or its mayor. The term ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ differs from what it was in the Greek and Byzantine documents, and it was not synonymous with any of the terms (Ϫⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ– πρωτχωμητης– διόικητας).

IV. THE ROLES AND ATTRIBUTIONS OF AL-MEZOTEROS

Understanding these roles require a careful and systematic analysis of Coptic documents concerning the term ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ. These texts describe tasks involved in for managing daily life matters in the villages, implementing the decisions of the ruling authority, and managing the village affairs. These roles can be divided as follows:

1- al-Mezoteros as a Ruler

- al-Mezoteros is considered one of the members of the ruling authority, as by the 7th-8th century AD, some Copts holding this office assumed the rule and emirate of large administrative regions. This evidenced by the following document[65]: «ⲉⲡⲓⲧ Ϫⲉⲥⲡⲟⲩⲏ ⲏⲙⲱⲛ ⲁⲣⲅⲁⲙⲁ ⲩⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲣϪ ⲉⲩⲕϪⲏ ⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲡⲟϪⲓⲥⲉ ⲣⲙⲱⲛⲧ ⲭⲁⲏϪ Ϫⲓⲏⲕⲁⲓⲧ ⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲙⲓⲙⲛⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲏⲍⲍ,», «Under our lord Argamah son of Al-Majid, the Pagarch[66] of the region of Ermont (and) Khael, the Diokitis of Kastron Memnonia the Mawazit».

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[61] *P.RYL.COPT* 1909: 92; STEINWENTER 1920: 41-42; CRUM & EVELYN 1924: 176; RICHTER 1999: 296; *FD* 2002: 509.

[62] This is confirmed by Crum statement that the JKôw papyri make ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ the Greek equivalent of Ϫⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ. P.RYL.COPT 1909: 92.

[63] Another suggestion is that the town Aphrodite (the source of these documents) may have considered the Coptic title ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ to be a synonym for the Greek title Ϫⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ. (?)

[64] Jenniffer mentions that title μειζων is equivalent of title Ϫⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ. CROMWELL 2017: XXII.

[65] *KRU* 1912: Nº.12.

[66] Pagarch is major district administrator. CROMWELL 2017: XXIII.

- Al- Mezoteros was referred to as one of the rulers in the oath formula that is used as a guarantee for the document, as follows:[67] «ⲉⲓⲱⲣⲕ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲙⲛⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲛϫⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲣϫⲏϫⲱⲛ» «swear by the Almighty god and by the peace of our lords who rule us».
- Al- Mezoteros ruled over a body of leaders of small villages that fell within his jurisdiction. Each district was divided into a group of small villages, and al-Mezoteros was in charge of the chiefs who managed these small villages. He was able to give orders to these subordinate chiefs who had to obey him, as in the example[68]: «ⲛⲉⲧⲛϭⲁⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲙϫⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲉⲩϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲕⲩⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ» «Your servants, the superiors of small Nemjêw, who dare to write to their master and patron, lord Apa Colluthus al-Mezoteros».

2- al-Mezoteros as an Administrative Official

- al-Mezoteros had an important and prominent role in implementing the decisions of the ruling authority with regard to recruiting the villagers who are obligated to serve in the navy[69]. Additionally, they were responsible for supplying the ruling authority with these sailors as per its needs for forming the naval fleet and participating in the annual naval expedition that was carried out by the ruling authority[70]. This important role of Mezoteros is evident in his being the link between the ruling authority and the people of the village. Therefore, he had to identify these villagers and communicate with them, which is evidenced by a letter written on a papyrus dated to 9th-10th century AD and addressed to the al-Mezoteros from one of the persons who evaded service in the navy. This letter confirms that he will perform the tasks entrusted to him, as follows[71]: «ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲡϥϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲥⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲁ, ⲉⲣⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉ ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲧⲛⲉⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲁⲓ ϩⲱⲃ ⲡⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ϥⲧⲙⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲉϥ ⲉϥϩⲙ ⲡϫⲟⲓ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲫⲓⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲟⲛ ϫⲓⲛ... ⲛⲉⲉⲃ», «His slave dares to write to his master Mezoteros, you lord, hello, god bless you, lord know what you order me (any) work that work if he does not become a sailor in the ship, you lord (do not) doubt for ever since sailor».
- He was responsible for guaranteeing the villagers who were recruited to work as sailors for the ruling authority. He also had to promise to pay a fine if they did not perform their forced labor[72]. We find, for example, a guarantee document from Aphrodite, written on papyrus dated to the 8th century.

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[67] *KRU* 1912: Nos.10,12.

[68] *P LAUR* 1984: vol.5, Nº.198.

[69] The naval duty is better known in the Coptic and Greek texts from Aphrodito, for examples: *P. Lond* vi 1910: Nos.1494, 1496, 1499, 1500-1501, 1504-1505; BÜRG 1958: Nos.32-33, 34-35.

[70] The annual Cruise was the raiding expedition sent yearly under the era of the Umayyad khalifate against the Empire of Byzantine and its dependencies. BELL 1926: 275.

[71] ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.14.

[72] For example: *P. LOND VI* 1910: Nos.1494, 1499.

- This document was addressed by four senior village officials[73] of three fields located west of town Jkow through the pagarch Basilius to the governor Qurra. They assert their responsibility for sending three sailors to the north to take part in the annual naval expedition. Additionally, they promised to pay a fine should any of the three flee their duty[74], as follows[75]:

  «+ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲛⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ ⲡⲗⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲛⲍⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲍⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉⲕⲧ, ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲡⲱ ⲛⲓⲱⲍⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲱ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲱⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲱⲙ ⲧⲱⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲓⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲛⲧ ⲭⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲥⲍⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲗⲏⲙⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲏⲧⲟⲓ ⲡⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲩⲫⲏⲙⲙⲱⲥ ⲕⲟⲣⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲣⲫⲩⲉⲥⲧⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲍⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲗⲟⲝⲟⲧ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲩⲣ, ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲍⲛⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲗⲟ, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲩⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲭⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲡⲟⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲥⲡⲉⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲙⲟⲗⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲛⲱⲧⲱⲟⲣⲉ ⲧⲛⲕⲓⲛⲗⲩⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲭⲉⲧⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲛⲟ ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲩⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲛⲟ ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲓⲭⲉⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲉⲕ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲛⲡⲉⲗⲓⲁⲥⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲱⲛⲁⲍ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲧⲓⲉⲧⲧⲩⲏⲧⲓⲕⲏ ⲍⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲏⲧ ⲍⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲉⲕ ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲃⲛ...+ γνω εγγυητ Απα κυρος Σαμοηλ μειξο Απολλω…», «We, Apa Cyrus son of the late Samuel Al-Lashane, Apollo son of Heraclius, the tax -collector, David son of John, and Phoebammon son of Gogeos, men of the three fields west of Jkow, we write to the financial officer namely, our lord, the all-famous Qurra (bin Sharīk), the wonderful governor through you, our glorious lord, master Basilius, by the will of God, the wonderful pagarch of Jkkow, with its farms and fields Greeting Greetings, we agree, desire, and guarantee, and we are responsible, and we go surety, and are liable for the persons of these sailors, being among in our fields. We will present their names to you at the end of this document of guarantee. We send them northward as sailors ... the assurance of Apa Cyrus, Samuel al-Mezoteros, and Apollo».
- Many Coptic documents[76] indicate that al- Mezoteros was responsible for preventing escape attempts, which the villagers resorted to in order to evade tax burdens[77] and forced labor. This role is evident through the issuance of protection letters[78] **[FIGURE 1]**

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[73] One of whom was al-Mezoteros, mentioned at the beginning of the document as Al-Lashani, the Greek section at the end of document provides with whose name twice with the title of al-Mezoteros.

[74] The possibility of flight was a severe one, with the evidence presenting that conscripts would undertake what all measures they could to avoid serving, whether flight or substituting payment for physical service. CROMWELL 2017: 91.

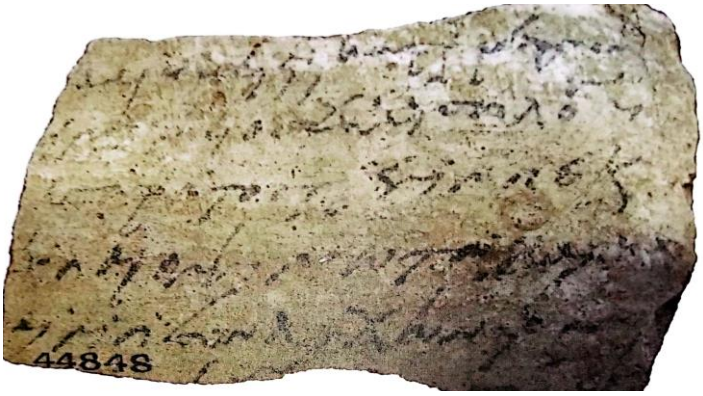
[75] *P. LOND VI* 1910: 438.

[76] *ST* 1921: Nº.432; TILL 1939: 88, Nos.22, 27, 28; CALAMENT 2003: 42; *SB KOPT*. 2006: vol.3, Nº. 1368; *TM*: Nº. 83719.

[77] The phenomenon of the flight of peasants wishing to escape taxes is well documented in Egypt throughout its history. The central power has constantly tried to stop these tax evaders but the inhabitants of Egypt have apparently continued to flee periodically. To bring them back to their homes, they were given a protection letter, armed with this document, which generally drawn up by the local authority. With this letter, fugitives can return home without risk. DELATTRE 2007: 173.

[78] So far, about 140 of these documents - known as the «protection letters» - have been published, which included the actual documents promising protection and other documents related to them, such as letters requesting the issuance of a protection letter. In the villages dating to the late antique and early Islamic

that enable the fugitives to return and confirm that no action will be taken against them. For example[79]: «+παρ, γεωργιος ϛ αρων ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲍ... ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲯⲁⲓ ⲛϯⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲫⲱⲣⲉ ⲭⲉⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲗⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲓ ⲉⲯⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕϩⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛⲯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉⲛⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲭⲉⲁⲕⲡⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲯⲓ ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲍⲁⲧⲓⲛ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲕⲫⲱⲣⲉ», «From Georgios and Aaron Mawazit they write to Jeremiah (son) of Basilios and his children, here you have the assurance by god to you, come home and show yourself , for we will not harm you for your running away and we will not sue you for this tax and your children».



[FIGURE 1]: Part of protection letter issued by ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ .CROMWELL 2017: PL. 9.

- al-Mezoteros's main responsibility was to maintain direct communication with the villagers in all administrative matters. This is evident from the letters that were sent directly to al-Mezoteros from the citizens. It can be said that al-Mezoteros was the liaison between the villagers and the ruling authority and is responsible for receiving their letters[80], as seen in the following examples:
  «ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲩⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϯⲛ ⲛⲉⲫⲥⲁⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲙϫⲏⲩ»[81] «Give it to our master, lord Apa Colluthus al-Mezoteros, from his servants, the chiefs of small Nemjêw», «ⲡⲉⲫⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉⲫⲥⲯⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲫϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲙⲉⲥⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲁ,»[82] «His slave dares to write to his master Mezoteros, you lord, hello».
- Coptic documents clarified the tasks carried out by al-Mezoteros in the management of the village's affairs, which included receiving the complaints from the villagers. An example of this is found in a letter written on a papyrus, which is a shepherd's complaint to the village's Mezoteros:[83] «+ ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲩⲣ, ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ

periods, local authorities, such as village officials or monastery abbots (one or two lashane (s), meizoteros , dioiketes or an Apa), could issue documents that afforded a measure of protection to their recipients. DELATRE 2007: 173-178; CROMWELL 2017: 119,120; SCHEERLINCK 2020: 15-30.

[79] *ST* 1921: Nº. 432; TILL 1939: Nºs. 27-28; *SB KOPT. III* 2006: Nº. 1368.

[80] *P.RYL.COPT* 1909: 143.

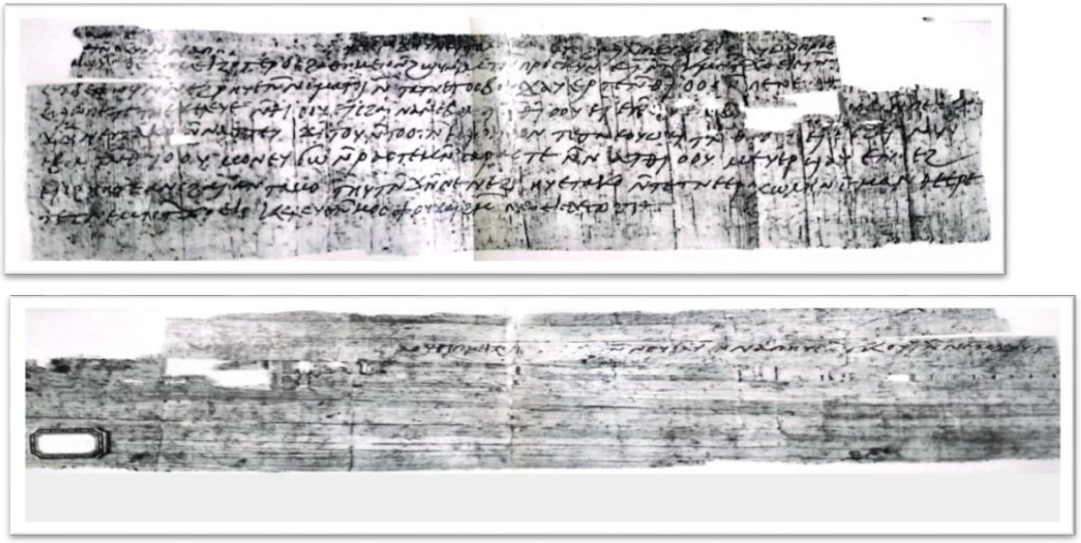
[81] *P LAUR.V* 1984: Nº.198.

[82] ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº. 14.

[83] *BM* 1905: Nº. 1160.

ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲟⲟⲥ», «Give it to my master the lord Sarapion and the assistant officer of Jonatheus the shepherd».

- al-Mezoteros was responsible for providing food for the fighting soldiers, **[FIGURE 2]** so he ordered the heads of small villages to plant and harvest crops which will eventually be sent to him. This is evidenced from the following text:[84] «ⲛⲉⲧⲛϭⲁⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲙϫⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲉⲩϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲕⲩⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛϩⲱⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲛⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲛⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲫⲱϥ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲣⲏⲩⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲛⲉⲧⲟⲟⲃϩⲟⲩ ϫⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲑⲏⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲉⲛⲉ..ⲑ ... ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲛⲑⲏⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲛⲑⲏⲟⲟⲩ», «Your servants, the superiors of small Nemjêw, who dare to write to their master and patron, lord Apa Colluthus al-Mezoteros, before everything we obey your lordship, and inform you about the crops of the military, that you sealed because the time has come to harvest them… If you order us to harvest them, write to us and we harvest them».



[FIGURE 2]: Letter mentions ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ was responsible for providing food for the fighting soldiers LAUR 1984: PL.CXXXI.

3- al-Mezoteros as a Financial Official

The study of Coptic documents clarified that al-Mezoteros's financial tasks are focused entirely on taxation and not on other fiscal activities. He was responsible for many financial affairs related to village taxes[85], and so had a prominent role in its collection.[86] His role as a financial official can be summarized through the following points:

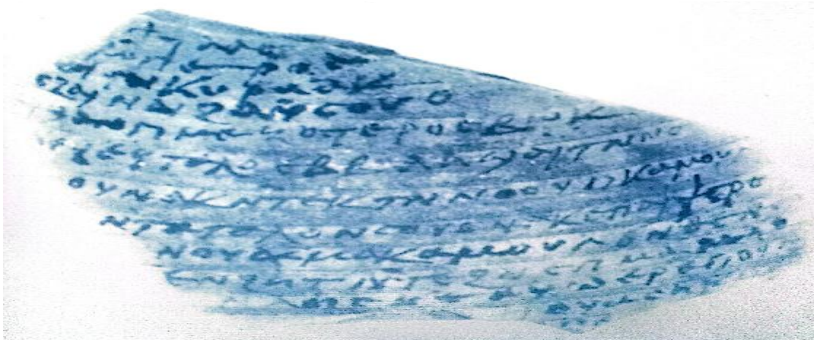
[84] *P LAUR.V* 1984: Nº.198.

[85] There are many documents: *CPR* 1895: vol.2, 85, Nºs. XCVIII, XCIX; *BM* 1905. Nº. 1051; *OMH* 1952, Nº. 150; *CPR* 1958: vol.4, Nº.15; ERNŠTEDT 1959: 61, Nº.23.

[86] In the 7Th - 8th century under the Umayyads the village with its Mezoteros was an autonomous community which played a major role in tax collection, and this remained until the end of the 8th century (under the rule of the Abbasid state). MORIMOTO 1981: 197.

- al-Mezoteros was specifically responsible for collecting the Embolē tax[87]. This role is revealed through a tax receipt dated to 7th century, which mentions that al-Mezoteros had received the Empolē tax[88] with another cash tax[89]. We also find a letter written on an ostracon dated to the7th-8th century, including a person named Kira writing to a person named Peter who lives in a far area from him. The letter mentions that Peter asked Kira to send him wheat, while Kira told him that he would send him what he needed after al-Mezoteros comes and takes the Embolē from him[90] **[FIGURE 3].**

«ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲕⲩⲣⲁ ⲁⲕϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲡⲙⲉⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲉⲃⲃⲁϩⲏ[91] ⲱⲁⲓⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲕⲁⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲁⲕ», «Give it to Peter from Kira, you wrote to me about wheat, when al-Mezoteros goes away having loaded Empolē, I shall send to you and you may send the camel, and I shall load (it with) wheat for you».



[FIGURE 3]: Letter written on ostraca mentions ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ had received the Empolē tax *OMH* 1952: PL.IV.

- al-Mezoteros participated in the collection of taxes that were paid in money, such as the gold tax imposed on the citizens, which the village supervisor had to collect and hand

[87] The Embolē is one of the main taxes imposed during the early Arab period, and it was usually paid in kind, which it was of course corn, often wheat, and rarely barley, and it was devoted to both Arab settlers and for the Arab immigrants in Fustat who were working in the navy fleet, whereas, they were receiving annual allowances of money and corn. *P. LOND IV* 1910: XXXIX; *BAL* 1954: 42.

[88] In one Greek documents Al-Mezoteroc is referred in context with Embolē wheat delivered from the village of Tokona (*P.Oxy*. XVI 2021). BERKES 2017: 92.

[89] Many parts of document are missing. *CPR* 1895: vol.2, 85, Nº.XCVIII; *CPR* 1958: vol.4, Nº.15.

[90] *OMH* 1952: Nº.150.

[91] The meaning of the word ⲉⲃⲃⲁϩⲏ is unknown, and it was not mentioned in any of the specialized linguistic dictionaries, whether Coptic or Greek. Therefore, the research suggests two possibilities:

- This word represents one of the unrecognized written forms of the word ⲉⲙⲃⲟϩⲏ due to the closeness of the phonetic pronunciation between the two words, which caused confusion between the letters. This is one of the linguistic features that occur frequently in writing Coptic documents, in addition to relying on the context of the text; as it includes a request for a shipment of wheat and that the meizoteros goes to load a specific shipment. (The researcher adopted this possibility)
- Word ⲉⲃⲃⲁϩⲏ is just a Coptic writing of the Arabic word «papari», which is written in Coptic piper meaning «the pepper».TILL 1951: 84, Nº.113a.

over. It seems that it was an exceptional tax as it was only mentioned in one document, as follows:[92] «+ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϥⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲥⲁϩ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲕⲣⲏⲣⲉⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓⲡⲗⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ ϩⲁⲡⲉⲭⲣⲩⲥⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲛⲡⲕⲱⲙⲏⲕⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ», «I Abraham al-Mezoteros writing to the teacher Phoibamon the superintendent (of the village of) Kreris, I received from your hand regarding the gold tax of the locals' tax».

- al-Mezoteros was responsible for collecting taxes in kind, which is shown in a letter written on a papyrus dated 8th century AD from Arsinoy. al-Mezoteros was mentioned as one of the officials who have to collect taxes in kind. His name is written in Greek[93].

4- al-Mezoteros as a Legal Official

- al-Mezoteros was responsible for adjudicating disputes and inheritance settlements among citizens, as in the following example[94]: «ⲉⲓⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲃⲉⲧ ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ, ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲁⲛⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲑⲉⲟⲗⲱⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁⲡⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲙⲡⲁⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣ, ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲗⲟⲩⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲛ̀ⲧⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲗⲟⲙⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲭ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲟ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲗⲓⲥⲁⲃⲉⲧ ⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲗⲑⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲧⲓⲙⲓⲱ⸗ⲱ⸗ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲛⲗⲁϣ,ϣ, ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲑⲗⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲑⲉⲟⲫⲗ̀ⲉ, ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲍ̀ⲟ…», «I am writing to my dear mother Elizabeth, the daughter of the late Epiphanius, too, and her mother Mary and Abraham, her husband the son of Theodoros, in the same court, greetings after the death of my father Loula in this seventh year, the beginning of what happened now, I have been in justice with you my dear mother, Elizabeth, in front of the illustrious Athanasius and Victor the Lashanes in the sanctuary of the victorian martyr Abba Kuriakos located in this same town, in the presence of the most reverend Abba Victor, chief priest and al-Mezoteros».

- The legal duty of al-Mezoteros is evident because he is one of the officials of the higher authorities and representatives of the judicial body in the court that Coptic citizens used when signinglegal contracts, as in the following sales document:[95] «επι τοις λαμπρω̣τ αθανασιον δαυειδ μηνα υιου μακαριω̣τ πααμ μειζ̣ω̣ καστρ̣ο̣ μεμνωνιου + ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲍⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲛⲉⲫⲣⲁⲓⲙ ⲙⲛⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲙⲛⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲩⲙ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲕ, ⲯⲁⲧⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁⲧⲓⲍⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ...ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲉⲩⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ ⲙⲙⲟϥ», «Among the illustrious Athanasius, son of David and Mina son of the late Paam al-Mezoteros, the Kastron of Memnonia. + We Zacharias, Ephraim, Sophia, Maria, and Takum, the children

[92] *BM* 1905. Nº.1051.

[93] ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº. 23.

[94] REVILLOUT 1880: 101-107; *BM* 1905. Nº. 423; *KRU* 1912: Nº. 37.

[95] STERN 1884: 152-159; ERMAN & KREBS 1899: 270-277; *KRU* 1912: Nº.10; TILL 1964: 102-104; CROMWELL 2017: 143-144.

of the late Psate. Whereby we also represent our siblings and act on their behalf in all matters…to write on our behalf the sale document without transgression».

- It seems that al-Mezoteros had a role in settling contracts, especially lease contracts. A papyrus dated to 7th-8th century AD includes a lease contract, but unfortunately it is incomplete. Crum mentioned that the beginning of this document is: «from ...the deacon, son of Dorothe of Shmoun, to Apa Taurinis, relating to a former lease», and he mentioned also that Taurinis is the Mazut, the follow is the rest of the Coptic text[96]: «ⲁⲡⲣⲟⲑⲉ...ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ...ⲭⲉⲡⲓⲗⲏ ⲁⲕⲥⲩⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲑⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ...»
- al-Mezoteros is the legal official who receives citizens' guarantees as one of the legal measures taken by the state to ensure the performance of compulsory services and reduce village abandonment. The following is a guarantee contract for a villager's attendance[97]: «ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲉⲣⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲯⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ ⲡⲣⲱⲙ ⲛⲑⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲕⲩⲣⲓⲥ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ ⲡⲙⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲛ ⲃⲁⲃⲉⲗⲱⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲓ.ⲉⲛⲅⲅⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲡⲁⲗⲁⲟⲩ ⲡⲯⲉ ⲛⲛⲓ̈ⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲥ ⲡⲣⲱⲙ ⲃⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲉ ϩⲛ ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ», « I Hermia the son of Anup, a man of the village of Tone in the nome of the city of Shmun, I am writing to Lord George al-Mezoteros, who lives in Babylon. I guarantee for the person of Palau son of John a man of Busire in the same nome».

V. THE COPTS WHO WERE EMPLOYED AS ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ IN THE COPTIC DOCUMENTS

The following table includes the names of Copts who held the position of ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ according to Coptic documents. The entries are arranged chronologically, knowing that there are many documents in which the title ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ is mentioned without the person's name **[TABLES 3 & 4].**

Name	Date of document	Document Type	Provenance	Publication
(?)	6th-7th Century AD.	Letter	Thebes	*RYL.COPT* 1909: Nº. 305
Ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉ	7th century AD.	Letter	Ashmunein	*P LAUR* 1984: Nº.198.
ⲛⲓⲟⲣⲧⲁⲛⲏⲥ	7th century AD.	Tax receipt	Unknown	*CPR* 1895: vol.2, Nº. XCVIII; *CPR* 1958: vol.4, Nº. 15.
ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓⲛⲟⲥ (?)	7th-8th Century AD.	sale contract	Thebes	*RYL.COPT* 1909: Nº.178.
(?)	7th-8th Century AD.	Letter	Thebes (Medinet Habu)	*OMH* 1952: Nº.150.
ⲁⲣⲅⲁⲙⲁ	8th century AD.	House sale contract	Thebes.	KRU 1912. Nº.12
ⲭⲁⲏⲗ				
ⲁⲣⲱⲛ	8th Century AD.	Protection letter	Thebes	*ST* 1921: Nº. 432; TILL 1939: Nºs. 27, 28; TILL

[96] *P.RYL.COPT* 1909: 92

[97] ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº. 3.

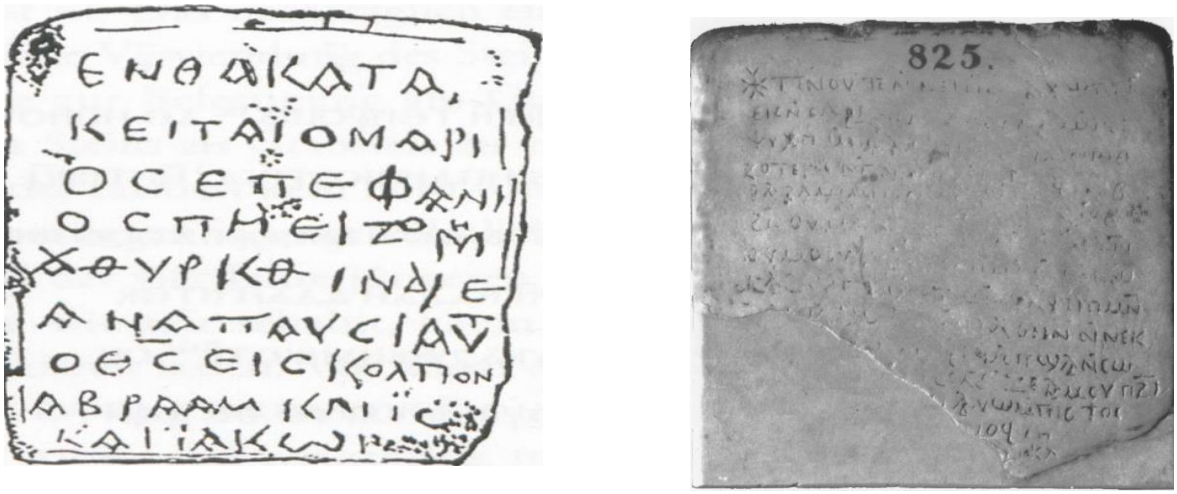
Ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ				1964: 228; *SB KOPT. III* 2006: Nº. 1368.
Ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ	8th century AD.	Inheritance Settlement Deed	Thebes (Djême)	REVILLOUT 1880: 101-107; *BM* 1905. Nº. 423; *KRU* 1912. Nº. 37.
Ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ	8th century AD.	Guarantee Contract	Unknown	ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.3.
	8th century AD.	Tax receipt	Thebes (?)	*CPR* 1895: vol.2, Nº. XCIX; *CPR* 1958: vol.4, Nº. 189c.
Κολλονθο Πατε	8th century AD.	Guarantee Declaration	Aphrodite	*P.LOND* 1910: vol.4, Nº.1499.
Κυρος	8th century AD.	Guarantee Declaration	Aphrodite	*P.LOND* 1910: vol.4, Nº.1494; BÜRG 1958: Nº.2.
Μηνα	8th century AD.	Land sale contract	Thebes	*KRU* 1912: Nº.10.
Σενουισ	8th century AD.	Letter	Fayoum	ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.23.
?	8th century AD.	Protection letter	Thebes	TILL 1939: Nº.22.
?	9th-10th Century AD.	Letter	Unknown	ERNŠTEDT 1959: Nº.14.
ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ	O.D	Declaration by receipt of tax	Ashmunain	*BM* 1905: Nº.1051.
Ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ	O.D	Letter	Unknown	*BM* 1905: Nº.1160.
?	O.D	Letter	Thebes (?)	REVILLOUT 1902: Nº.58.

[TABLE 3]: Coptic Mawazit in Coptic documents from Egypt ©Done by the researcher

Name	Date of document	Document Type	Provenance	Publication
Ⲉⲡⲉⲫⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ	6th-8th century AD.	Epitaph	Qasr Ibrîm (Aethiopia)	RICHTER 1999: 297; *SB KOPT* 2006: vol.3, Nº. 1602; *L.LIPS.KOPT* 2013: Nº.58; *TM*: Nº.110998; *DBMNT*: Nº.566.
Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ	8th-9th Century AD.	Epitaph **[FIGURE 4]**	Kalabsha (Northern Nubia)	VLIET 2002: 186, L.3-4; *SB.KOPT* 2006: vol.3, Nº.

				1645; *TM*: Nº.101499; *DBMNT*: Nº. 626.
ϊωcнϕ	8th -9th Century AD	Deed of land sale	Sudan, Aethiopia (?), seen in Alexandria in 1900	KRALL 1900: 239; BERKES 2017: 119; *DBNT*: Nº. 635; *TM*: Nº. 141670.
Ⲟⲛⲟϕⲣⲓⲟⲥ	8th -9th Century AD	Deed of land sale	Sudan, Aethiopia (?), seen in Alexandria in 1900	*TM*: Nº. 141670; *DBMNT*: Nº.635; KRALL 1900: 239.
Ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ	9th Century AD	Deed of land sale	Nobatia*	*BM* 1905: Nos.449,450; *DBNT:* Nº. 630.
ⲥⲏⲙⲱⲛ	9th Century AD	deed of land sale	Sudan, Aethiopia (?), seen in Alexandria in 1900	*DBNT*: Nº.634; KRALL 1900: 237; *TM*: Nº. 141669.
ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ	10th Century AD	Deed	Qasr Ibrîm	*DBNT*: Nº.615; *TM*. Nº. 141658.
ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲁ	10th -14th Century AD	Letter	Qasr Ibrîm	GIOVANNI 2012: 231; *P. QI* 2014: vol.4, Nº.89; BERKES 2017: 119; *DBNT*: Nº.832; *TM*: Nº.371326.
Ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲁ	10th -14th Century AD	Letter	Qasr Ibrîm (Aethiopia)	GIOVANNI 2012: 51; *P. QI IV* 2014: Nº. 95; BERKES 2017: 119; *DBNT*: Nº.2837; *TM*: Nº.371331.

[TABLE 4]: Coptic Mawazit in Coptic documents from Nubian © Done by the researcher



(A) **(B)**

[FIGURE 4]: A. Epitaph for ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ Paulos from Qasr Ibrîm Aethiopia. RICHTE 1999: 297; B. A tombstone for ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ Paulos from Kalabsha. VLIET 2002: 186.

* Official Nubian protocol acquired in Aswan, and Crum mentioned that the Provenance of this document from Aswan.

To talk about how Copts assumed this official position and to understand its nature, we must study the documents in depth. Below are some points that can shed light on this aspect:

1- By studying the titles associated with the Mawazit Copts, which varied between honorary, religious, and professional titles, it can be clear that their social status was discernable. These titles indicates that they were selected from the ranks of trusted men among the village elites, as well as from among the clergy, as evidenced by the appointment of one Mawazit Copts to the position of head priest of the church, prominent religious position.[98] Additionally, many of them were titled with ⲁⲡⲁ.[99]

2- One Meizoteros was appointed to manage each village, but sometimes we found a few villages that had several Meizoteros, who were appointed to manage the same village at the same time. But the prevailing rule in the state's administrative structure was to appoint one Meizoteros for each village **[CHART 1].**

[CHART 1]: Appointment of ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ in Villages © Done by the researcher.

3- There was an assistant employee who worked with Al-Mazut to help him with the administrative matters of the village, such as receiving the complaints of the villagers, as seen in this example[100]: « ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ... ⲡⲫⲥⲯⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲩⲣ, ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣ ⲉⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲙⲛⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇⲏ... + ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲕⲩⲣ, ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲯⲓⲧⲛ ⲓⲱⲛⲛⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲟⲟⲥ»,«I ... his written to my master the lord Sarapion Al-mazut, I bow down to your majesty and my master the assistant, as ... Give it to my master the lord Sarapion and the assistant of Jonatheus the shepherd».

[98] *KRU* 1912: Nº. 37.

[99] REVILLOUT 1880: 101-107; *BM* 1905. Nº.423; *P. RYL.COPT* 1909: Nº.178; *P. LOND IV* 1910: Nº. 1494; BÜRG 1958: Nº. 32; *P LAUR.V* 1984: Nº.198.

[100] *BM* 1905. Nº.1160.

4- The research suggests that there is a hierarchy among the functions of the ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ, based on the below evidence:

- The use of the title ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲏⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟ[101] «chief of Meizoteros», in one of the Coptic documents suggests the hypothesis that there is a hierarchy within the ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲉⲩⲩⲓⲟⲛ.
- In Coptic documents, there appeared to be a diversity and difference in the administrative borders that fell under the jurisdiction of the Coptic ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ, administration. This indicates a difference or variation in authority levels from one ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ to another. We find some who ruled entire district[102], while another managed a group of villages[103]. Each in turn was headed by a ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ, meaning that they were indeed of lower status than ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ. Most of the Mawazit are assigned to manage one village[104]. Finally there were some who managed a farm within the village.

VI. CONCLUSION

To achieve the research aims, the study reached many results, which can be classified into linguistic and social conclusions as follows:

First: Linguistic aspects: ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ is a functional title of Greek origin, which is used to express an official administrative position restricted only to men in all historical periods, whether Greek, Byzantine, Coptic or Arab, It was held only by those who were responsible in the administration of the state. As it was a purely functional title, and no one ever held it as an honorary title.

- This title is always written after the proper name and preceding with the definite article in a masculine form. It is only mentioned without article when the title is pluralized.
- The linguistic use of this title in Coptic documents dates back from the 6th until the 14th centuries, though it was more common in the 8th century AD, which indicates that the ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ function was of great importance during this period.
- The research identified all the linguistic derivations and written forms of this term, and the common form is ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ.
- The Copts Mawazit held many titles that varied among functional, honorary, and religious titles, which reveal their social status.

Second: Civilization Aspects: The tasks of the ⲙⲉⲓⲍⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ is divided into those related to implementing the decisions of the ruling authority, and others related to managing the affairs of the villagers. These are tasks and activities related to daily life in the village,

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[101] GIOVANNI 2012: 51; *P. QI IV* 2014: Nº. 95; BERKES 2017: 119; *DBNT*: Nº. 2837, http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl/database/details/2837 accessed on (9/9/2023); *TM*: Nº. 371331, www.trismegistos.org/text/371331 accessed on (9/9/2023).

[102] *KRU* 1912: Nºs.10, 12.

[103] *P LAUR* 1984: vol.5, Nº.198.

[104] *ST* 1921: Nº.432; *OMH* 1952: Nº.150; *CPR* 1958: vol.4, Nºs.15, 189c.

which can shed light on some of the financial, legal and administrative aspects of the Copts, as follows:

Administrative roles

Recruiting the villagers who are obligated to serve in the navy, guaranteeing the villagers who were chosen to be recruited to work as sailors for the ruling authority, preventing villagers from leaving, receiving complaints from the villagers, and providing food for the fighting soldiers.

Legal roles

Adjudicating disputes and inheritance settlement among citizens, concluding contracts, and receiving citizens' guarantees

Financial roles:

Collecting the Embolē tax, collecting kind taxes, and collecting money taxes.

- It is clear from the preceding tasks that this profession is more administrative than financial or legal, and indicates that the Copts had a highly centralized administrative structure.
- The ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ function did not have any religious or ecclesiastical activity in churches or monasteries, and was limited to purely daily life tasks.
- The ruling authority appointed one ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ to manage each village, but sometimes several ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥⲱ ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲡⲟⲓⲛⲧⲉⲗ to manage the same village at the same time. Nonetheless the prevailing rule in the state's administrative structure was to appoint one ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ for each village. Sometimes the ruling authority appointed an assistant employee to work with the ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ to assist him in administrative matters of the village.
- There was a hierarchy for ⲙⲉⲓϩⲟⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ function, which is following:

1- Head of a town.
2- Head a group of villages.
3- Head of a village.
4- Head of a farm in a village.

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EXHIBITION REQUIREMENT FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCULPTURES AT EGYPT'S CAPITALS MUSEUM

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **متطلبات عرض التماثيل الأثرية بمتحف عواصم مصر**

تتعدد طرق العرض المتحفي، فليس هناك قانون موحد لطرق العرض المتحفي، وإنما تخضع طريقة العرض لعدة أمور، منها ماهية المورود الأساسي من المقتنيات وطبيعتها، حيث تفرض هذه المقتنيات أسلوباً معيناً وطريقةً خاصةً بها على مصمم العرض المتحفي، ومنها المعرفة المحيطة بالمقتنيات وكذلك الأفكار والسياقات التي يفاضل بينها فريق العمل في تقديم المعروضات والموضوعات، ومنها شكل وحجم القاعات وثقافة الجمهور المستهدف. وتعتمد منهجية البحث على تسليط الضوء على طرق عرض التماثيل بمتحف عواصم مصر بالعاصمة الإدارية الجديدة، الذي يعتمد في طريقة عرضه على التسلسل الزمني للعواصم المصرية، حيث يمكن تصنيف التماثيل الأثرية قبل عرضها بالمتحف على حسب أوزانها وأحجامها إلى تماثيل صغيرة يمكن عرضها بالفاترينات كالتماثيل الخشبية، تماثيل كبيرة نسبياً كالتماثيل الحجرية بأنواعها المختلفة، وتماثيل كبيرة ضخمة لا تعرض بفاترينات المتحف، وانما يتم عرضها بالقاعات (عرض حر) على قواعد صلبة تتحمل أوزانها، كما تم استخدام شاشات عرض تفاعلية تجمع تصميماتها بين النصوص، الصور المتحركة، والتسجيلات الصوتية، وكذلك استخدام رموز الاستجابة السريعة لتعزيز تجربة الزائر، بالإضافة إلى تفسير المقتنيات للزائر باستخدام بطاقات شارحة جيدة مصنعه من مادة الألكوبوند القوية، وذلك بما يتفق مع معايير العمارة المتحفية القائمة بدورها على أربع دعائم رئيسه وهي تصميم وبناء عمارة المتحف وفق تقنية خاصة، وتأثيثها بأثاث ملائم للعرض، والحفظ الوقائي الجيد لتلك المقتنيات المعروضة بالمتحف.

[EN] There are many display methods. There is no unified law for the methods of display, but it is subject to several issues including the nature of the collections that impose a particular style and method on the design of the display, the shape and size of the museum's halls, and the target audiences. This research paper highlights the methods of displaying sculptures in Egypt's Capitals Museum in the Administrative Capital. The method of display relies on the chronological sequence of the Egyptian capitals. The archaeological sculptures can be classified before their display in the museum according to their weights and sizes into small sculptures such as wooden sculptures that can be displayed in showcases, large statues such as various types of stone sculptures, and enormous sculptures that are not displayed in museum showcases but are exhibited in open halls on solid bases. Interactive display panels were used, combining text, animated images, and audio recordings. The objects are explained using explanation cards made of strong alucobond material. The standards of museum architecture are based on four main pillars: designing the museum, constructing it, furnishing it with suitable display furniture, and ensuring proper preventive conservation for the exhibited objects in the museum.

KEYWORDS: Bases, corian, display, Egypt's Capitals, exhibition requirements, Museum, sculptures.

I.INTRODUCTION

The American Alliance of Museums (AMM) defines museums as places for the collection, preservation, and display of human and natural heritage for education and culture. This is not realized in the museum without artistic abilities of staff and trained expertise. Hence, developing the mechanism of museums' work can be achieved by upgrading the efficient display and the museum's halls and equipment to create a narrative experience for the visitor[1]. The display is considered the cornerstone or backbone of the museum. It represents the fundamental function of a museum and demonstrates its role in achieving the concepts of accessibility and the meanings of effective communication with society. The methods and systems of internal display are one of the most important means of communication and interaction, as well as methods of teaching, learning, and interpretation tools used by the museum to convey information related to the museum's collections to visitors[2]. The main objectives of the display are to enhance the museum's message by presenting artifacts using technological means and scientific methods, as well as implementing mechanisms to achieve educational goals, increasing awareness, and educating visitors[3]. Additionally, it aims to enhance educational and pedagogical experiences and promote cultural and knowledge dissemination[4].

II.EGYPT'S CAPITALS MUSEUM

Egypt's Capitals Museum is located in the City of Arts and Culture in the New Administrative Capital. It aims to highlight the most important Egyptian capitals from Memphis, the first capital of the ancient Egyptian era, to the New Administrative Capital by showcasing various archaeological collections from different historical times and based on the museum's role of «preserving Egypt's cultural and administrative heritage by reviving the idea of changing Egypt's capitals and emphasizing the leadership of the Egyptian state in governance and administration systems throughout historical times in a unique museum of its kind».

The museum building consists of two halls. The first hall, the Hall of the Capitals of Egypt, includes a collection of famous and important Egyptian capitals that were chosen throughout Egyptian history only for their historical, religious, and administrative importance. The exhibition shows four capitals on the right, namely Memphis, Thebes, Akhetaten (Tel Amarna), and Alexandria, and three capitals on the left, namely Fustat, Fatimid Cairo, and Khedivial Cairo. On the second level and behind the statue of King Ramses II is the New Administrative Capital, which will include artifacts representing the new era. The second hall is the Hall of Funeral Rites and the Journey of the Resurrection, where the exhibition shows the journey of death and the other world through the display of funeral rites, burial tools, other rituals of life, and the newly discovered and complete tomb of Tutu and his wife Ta-shert from the Akhmim area of Sohag.

[1] EILEAN 1994: 3.
[2] KADOUS 2012: 19.
[3] SALAMA et Al. 2020: 25-40.
[4] DEAN 1996:15.

The museum includes more than 1,000 distinctive artifacts that express the history of Egypt throughout the ages. It contains monuments and sculptures of rulers, statesmen, ministers, clerics, army commanders, and several coffins and mummies[5].

III. Attitude of Egyptian Sculptures

Egypt is considered the greatest nation in the world in mastering the art of construction when stones where used in construction since the first dynasty[6]. The sizes of ancient Egypt's sculptures reflected the differences in the social classes at the time. The size of the Pharaohs' sculptures, which weighed up to several tons, exceeded the natural size of humans, unlike the size of the sculptures of clerks and nobles, which was in life-size. The servants and workers had the smallest sculptures, and, although their sculptures were only 50 centimeters high, they were characterized by high precision[7].

IV. Artifacts Mounting and Bases

The manufacture of sculptures of leaders and historical figures of kings achieved high precision in the Old Kingdom. The artists used many different tools in their manufacture. These sculptures should be properly highlighted by the aesthetic effect of the body of the sculptures[8]. Therefore, it may be necessary to design a pedestal for antique sculptures, display them in the showcase, store them conveniently and correctly, or handle them or move them from one place to another. Placing a base for antique sculptures is necessary aesthetically and mechanically, during their display and/or storage. It should be highlighted that some pieces may be deformed due to the sculpture's weight. If the aesthetic form no longer plays a role, all attention shall be given to mechanical stresses. When erecting a base for storage or display, some requirements should be met, such as:

- It must have adequate resistance to withstand mechanical stresses.
- It should not pose a danger to the material of the statue or damage it, and it should avoid chemical or electrochemical reactions with the statue.
- It does not add secondary deformations like holes, cuts, or bends by fixing or incorrectly placing the statue.
- It is easy to disassemble while connecting sufficiently with the object to avoid falling[9].

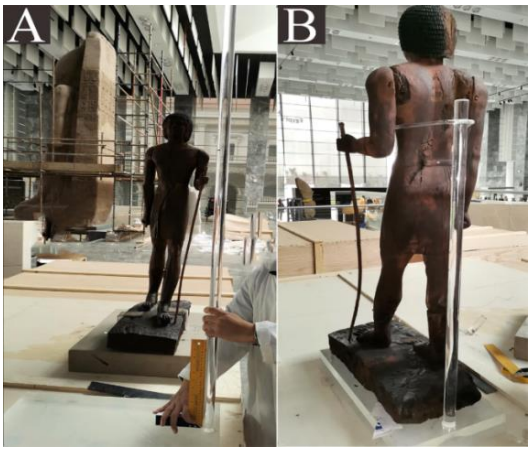
The following are the most important bases used in the mounting of sculptures at Egypt's Capitals Museum:

1. Plexiglas Mounts

Plexiglas is a methyl methacrylate polymer. Its specific density is 1.19 compared to industrial glass, and it has high transparency. It is of the same purity as crystal, with an average purity of 93 %. Plexiglas is characterized by its ability to bend and, therefore, can be shaped in its thin types (less than 3 mm). It is not affected by climate changes from -40 to 160ºC. It has high resistance to shocks, chemicals, and industrial vapors. Furthermore, it

[5] «Egypt's Capitals Museum», https://aqarfeed.com/a-museum-for-egypt-capitals/, accessed on (5/ 8/ 2023).
[6] Hassan 2019:184.
[7] Petrie 1883: 69-82.
[8] Wehba 2022: 310.
[9] Roshdy 2023: 14-15.

is non-reactive to inorganic materials and hydrocarbons[10]. No one can easily break the thicker types (more than 5 mm), so wooden or stone sculptures weighing no more than 50 kilograms can be displayed on Plexiglas mounts with a large thickness of 3: 5 cm inside the showcases, as illustrated by **[FIGURES 1-2]**.



[FIGURE 1]: The preparation of a mount of Plexiglas used to display one of the wooden sculptures, with the work of a prop from Plexiglas to secure the sculpture ©Egypt's Capitals Museum[11]. Taken by the researcher.

[FIGURE 2]: The wooden sculptures displayed on a Plexiglas mount in a showcase at Egypt's Capitals Museum ©Photo taken by the researcher.

2. Wooden Bases

Wood is an organic material with pores capable of absorbing and retaining moisture. It is amenable to formation by various external factors and influences. Wooden bases are used in the museum display after being covered with linen cloth[12]. They can be painted with non-glossy matt paints (Verona Polyurethane matte), which is characterized by strong adhesion, hardness, scratch resistance, and it is also moisture resistant[13], therefore they do not reflect light and match the colors of the showcase. They can also be upholstered with linen fabric for use in displaying collections. Wooden frames can be used

[10] AL MOHAMED 2015: 475-489.

[11]Photos taken inside the museum with permission from the museum administration.

[12] SCHWEINGRUBER 2013: 187-191.

[13] «Cellulose Varnish – Matte», https://www.cmbegypt.com/cmb/ar/product/cellulose-varnish, accessed on (13/11/2023).

for lightweight sculptures that do not exceed the weight of 150 kilograms after being covered with linen fabric due to its advantages over other fabrics, such as moisture absorption, ability to withstand high temperatures, and resistance to environmental factors, e.g., color change due to ultraviolet rays, as it is one of the natural fabrics[14] **[FIGURE 3].**

[FIGURE 3]: Display of a set of lightweight figurines on wooden bases covered with linen fabric ©Photo taken by the researcher.

Some types of solid natural wood can be used in the manufacturing of wooden bases, including:

Oakwood: It is distinguished by its red and white colors, and it is characterized by its high hardness. Its disadvantages include being expensive and having many pores.

Mahogany wood: It is characterized by its reddish color, absence of knots, and water resistance. It has a higher degree of expansion and contraction compared to other types of wood. It has a relatively long lifespan, which is why its cost is slightly higher.

Beech: It has a white color inclined to redness and has several types such as Roman beech, American beech, Russian beech, and Turkish beech. It has many features including high durability and strength, beautiful shape, and heavy weight. Thus, it is the best among these species[15].

3. Corian Bases

Corian is an artificial material similar in shape to natural marble, where it was attempted to manufacture marble and remove the disadvantages found in natural marble such as ease of breakage, expansion, contraction, discoloration, weight, and difficulty in transportation. It is characterized by gloss and smoothness of the surface and is composed of a mixture of natural materials, namely aluminum, marble powder, and chemicals such as methyl methacrylate. The natural materials give it the hardness and resistance of natural stone, and the chemicals give it ease of forming and light weight[16]. It has strength and hardness, which allows it to withstand weather. It does not absorb heat quickly. It is a

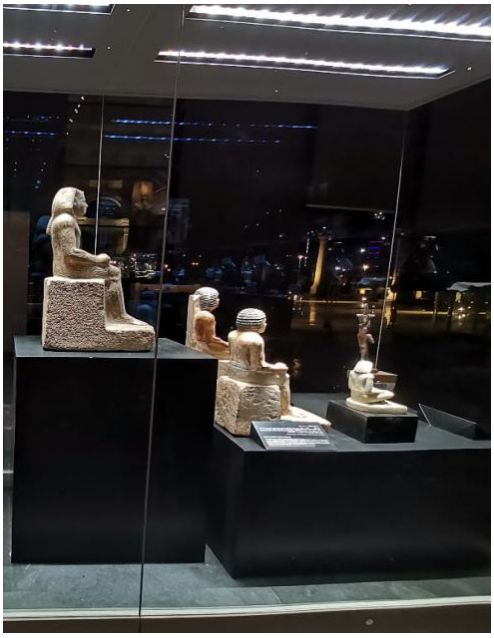
[14] ABDALLAH 2012: 73-75.

[15] WIEDENHOEFT 2010: 1-18.

[16] ABŪ SHALL 2018: 162-180.

good reflector for lighting. If any scratch occurs in this type of marble or one of its parts, it can be restored by specialists without leaving a trace in the marble. The artificial marble represents a hostile environment for fungi and insects of various kinds.

It is used to display precious artifacts, such as jewelry, due to its ability to resist ignition and fires and because aluminum hydroxide is one of the main components that enter the installation of artificial marble[17]. However, one of its main flaws is that the moisture absorption rate is minimal. It loses shine due to use. So, it is suitable for collectibles displayed inside showcases only. Small gaps appear and get bigger with time due to exposure to certain chemicals and acids. The Corian bases can be formed according to the desired height and color to display sculptures weighing from 100 to 250 kilograms[18], as illustrated by **[FIGURE 4]**.



[FIGURE 4]: One of the stone sculptures displayed inside the showcase after being placed on a Corian pedestal ©Photo taken by the researcher.

4. Marble Bases

Marble is a metamorphosed limestone rock. It is formed by recrystallizing limestone or dolomitic stone under relatively high temperatures and pressures[19]. It is strong and resistant to corrosion. It tolerates pressure, so it survives for long periods. It is easy to clean. It is a unique natural material characterized by the diversity of colors and their overlap. It can absorb moisture. Natural marble usually has a polished surface, is smooth, and can easily be polished and cleaned. It has the wonderful property of being resistant and heat-insulating[20]. Large stone sculptures, which are not displayed inside the showcases, are displayed in entrances, exhibition halls, or museum gardens. They weigh from 500kg to several tons and can be displayed on marble bases in two ways as follows[21].

[17] LIU & XU 2013: 51-58.
[18] ABŪ SHALL 2018: 162-180.
[19] BAKR 2019: 583- 635.
[20] KAMAL et Al. 2022: 135- 159.
[21] ROSHDY 2022: 114-117.

V. Concrete Bases Clad in Natural Marble

They are solid, armed iron and cement concrete bases clad with natural marble. This method is used in the case of large, fixed stone sculptures in the sense that it is difficult to move these holdings out of place; therefore, there is no flexibility in the display because the bases with the stone pieces are attached to the museum's exhibition hall floor **[Figure 5]**.

[Figures 5]: Displaying one of the large-sized sculptures on a concrete base clad in natural marble ©Photo taken by the researcher.

VI. Iron Bases Clad with Natural Marble

Steel bases can be designed and cladded with natural marble after properly insulating the steel against the effects of moisture using Kemapoxy 131 E material[22]. This method is very flexible in the display, where large stone sculptures can be moved, and their place in the display can be changed from place to place other than concrete bases installed on the floor of exhibition halls or museum gardens. These bases were used to display some stone holdings in Egypt's Capitals Museum **[Figure 6]**.

Cement Used in Concrete Bases

Sulfate-resistant cement can be used to create concrete bases. It is a type of Portland cement where the amount of tricalcium is less than 5%, and calcium oxides, silicon, and various minerals are less than 25%, reducing the formation of sulfate salts. Reducing sulfate salts reduces the likelihood of sulfate attack on concrete[23].

[Figure 6]: Granite stone hands after displaying on the iron pedestal after cladding with natural marble © Taken by the researcher.

[22] «Kemapoxy 131 E », https://www.cmbegypt.com/cmb/en/product/kemapoxy-131-e/, accessed on (19/11/2023).

[23] Abū Elkasem 2018: 144-146

The Identification Cards at the Museum of Egypt's Capitals

The identification cards are important elements in an exhibition as they serve as a companion to the visitor inside the museum halls due to their role in explaining the artifacts and the artistic elements the artifacts contain. The identification card mainly consists of the title of the artifact, its description, date, place of discovery, and its material . They are an effective and important means for the museum's message to succeed[24]. The identification card in the museum should be made of durable materials that are not easily damaged. Many materials are used in making explanatory cards, including cardboard, banners, and white vinyl. However, the researcher prefers to use alucobond cards, which consist of two layers of aluminum with a sturdy plastic insulating material in between. The thickness of the alucobond is 4 mm. It is distinguished by durability and resistance to weather conditions. It does not rust as it is made of aluminum. Moreover, it is environmentally friendly as it does not release toxic CFC substances that contribute to ozone depletion. It can withstand high temperatures, as alucobond composite aluminum sheets can withstand extremely high or low climatic temperatures. It can resist temperatures between -50 and +80 °C[25]. It has an attractive appearance, which is needed for the display. The alucobond sheets are cut to the appropriate size for the identification card and contain information about the artifact; then, they are printed with a printing machine (UV MKII Series) on the surface **[FIGURE 7].**

[FIGURE 7]: The identification alucobond cards used to identify the museum's artifacts © Taken by the researcher.

VII.CONCLUSION

Considering the weights of objects for mounting in the display is an essential task. Thus, small sculptures weighing no more than 50 kg can be displayed on bases made of Plexiglas with a large thickness of 3: 5 cm inside showcases. It is also possible to display antique sculptures weighing no more than 100 kg on wooden bases after being covered with linen fabric, which has advantages over other fabrics. Stone sculptures weighing 100: 250 kg can be displayed on display bases made of artificial marble (Corian) material. Large stone sculptures exceeding 250kg are displayed on stiffer bases to withstand high pressure and weight and are implemented in two ways as follows:

[24] NAWAWI 2010: 200

[25] AFIFY& KAMEL 2023: 492- 519.

The first method is to design solid concrete bases composed of reinforcing steel and cement, which is clad in natural marble. This method is used in the case of large, immoveable stone sculptures; therefore, there is no flexibility in the display scenario. The second method, which experimental studies have proven to be preferable because of its flexibility in displaying, is designing steel foundations and cladding them with natural marble. This method is characterized by great flexibility in the display, as large stone statues can be moved and relocated from one place to another in the display. In addition, it is possible to rotate between the exhibited items and those in storage that are similar in size and weight. The identification cards made of alucobond material, known for its durability and ability to withstand temperatures ranging from -50 to +80 ºC, are used. Alucobond is environmentally friendly and does not release toxic substances such as chlorofluorocarbon, which depletes the ozone layer.

VIII. Recommendations

The researcher recommends using some other modern techniques in the museum Instead of identification cards to increase interaction with visitors, such as augmented reality technology, which projects virtual objects and information into the real museum environment to provide additional information to the visitor. Additionally, hologram technology, especially for artifacts that are undergoing restoration or are being transferred to an external exhibition, can be used to replace these artifacts until they return to their displays. This was successfully implemented in the restoration of the Tutankhamun mask at the Egyptian Museum in Tahrir Square. It was an amazing experience for museum visitors as they saw the mask of King Tut speaking about his archaeological artifacts and history, which greatly impressed them.

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INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY AND ITS IMPACT ON INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE SAFEGUARDING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN HAND WEAVING IN AKHMIM (EGYPT) AND POCHAMPALLY (INDIA)

BY

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **الملكية الفكرية و آثرها في الحفاظ على التراث الثقافي غير المادي: دراسة مقارنة بين حرفة النسيج اليدوي بأخميم مصر وبوشامبالي الهند**

تعتبر الحرف اليدوية التقليدية أحد عناصر التراث الثقافى غير المادي وفقًا لاتفاقية اليونسكو لعام 2003 مما تتطلب العمل على الحفاظ عليها وصونها . يهدف البحث من خلال استخدام المنهج الوصفي التحليلى إلى تحليل الدور الذي يمكن أن تلعبه إداوت الملكية الفكرية في صون وحماية حرفة النسيج اليدوي، وذلك من خلال اجراء دراسة مقارنة بين أخميم (مصر) ومدينة بوشامبالي (الهند) حيث تشتهر كلا منها بحرفة النسيج اليدوى. أظهرت النتائج أن أدوات الملكية الفكرية قد لعبت دورًا هاما للغاية في صون واستدامة حرفة النسيج اليدوي بمدينة بوشامبالى بالهند، كما أشارت النتائج إلى الدور الهام الذى يمكن لأدوات الملكية الفكرية أن تلعبه في صون واستدامة حرفة النسيج اليدوى فى مصر عامة وأخميم بصورة خاصة، حيث اوضحت الدراسة أن هناك تسع مجالات رئيسية مرتبطة بحرفة النسيج اليديو يمكن لأدوات الملكية الفكرية تطويرها وتحويلها من نقاط ضعف إلى نقاط القوة، مما سوف يؤثر بشكل إيجابي على حماية وصون حرفة النسيج اليدوي بأخميم. تم تصنيف هذه المجالات التسع إلى ثلاث مجموعات رئيسيه المجموعة الأولى وهى تلك المرتبطة بالمنتج، أما المجموعة الثانية فتضم تلك المجالات المتعلقة بالحرفيين،أما المجموعة الثالثة فهى تلك المرتبطة بالعملاء.

[EN] Traditional crafts are one of the elements of intangible cultural heritage that all countries of the world seek to preserve and protect and Being currently enlisted in the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, the traditional hand weaving in southern Egypt faces the danger of extinction. This article aims to explore the potential impact of Intellectual Property (IP) in safeguarding the traditional hand weaving in Akhmim and elevating its status from the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding into the representative list. To achieve this objective, a comparative study was conducted between Akhmim city in Egypt and Pochampally village in India, considering their shared cultural heritage but different approaches in utilizing IP tools to preserve their respective weaving traditions. Intellectual Property (IP) tools have been effectively utilized in Pochampally to safeguard their traditional hand weaving, whereas in Akhmim, the utilization of such tools has been lacking. The study employed a qualitative research approach by conducting four semi-structured interviews with four Egyptian experts from public, private, and non-governmental organizations, all focused on the sustainable development of Egyptian handicraft clusters. The study revealed that traditional hand weaving in Akhmim is significantly underperforming, leading to its inclusion in the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. Previous interventions by international and local organizations primarily focused on product quality enhancement and diversification, overlooking the crucial role that IP tools can play in safeguarding Akhmim's traditional hand weaving.Furthermore, the study highlighted that making full use of IP tools is the most needed intervention for the safeguarding of Akhmim's traditional hand weaving at this time. It emphasized that IP tools can turn the main challenges faced by Akhmim hand-weavers into opportunities for growth. The study identified nine areas where IP tools can play a significant role in the development of traditional hand-weaving. These areas were classified into three main themes: product-related, craftsmen-related, and customer-related.

KEYWORDS: Akhmim, cultural heritage safeguarding, hand weaving, intangible heritage, intellectual property, Pochampally, traditional handicrafts.

I.INTRODUCTION

The term Handicrafts refer to «products produced by artisans, either completely by hand, or with the help of hand-tools or even mechanical means, as long as the direct manual contribution of the artisan remains the most substantial component of the finished product»[1]. As per the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), traditional craftsmanship is recognized as one of the five domains comprising Intangible Heritage[2].

Hand-Weaving is one of the deep rooted Egyptian traditional handicrafts, as it has been practiced since ancient Egyptian era, it is said that the ancient Egyptian were the inventors of the loom as they used two kinds of looms: horizontal and vertical[3]. However, in 2020, traditional hand-weaving in Upper Egypt was added to the UNESCO list of ICH in Need of Urgent Safeguarding due to numerous challenges[4], these obstacles have demotivated existing weavers from pursuing their craft and discouraged younger generations from entering the field due to its perceived lack of profitability[5].

Akhmim, which is considered one of the most important hand weaving centers in southern Egypt, has been chosen as a case study due to its notable reputation for its vibrant tradition of hand weaving. Since ancient times, Akhmim has been acknowledged as a significant center for Egyptian hand weaving[6].

Pochampally, on the other hand, was selected due to its similarities with Akhmim as a renowned hand-weaving center that faced a range of challenges similar to those currently faced by Akhmim's hand-weaving industry. However, through the effective utilization of IP tools, Pochampally experienced significant improvements in the hand-weaving profession and successfully safeguarded its weaving heritage.

By conducting a comparative study between Akhmim Hand weaving cluster in Egypt and Pochampally Hand weaving cluster in India, this study aims to examine how IP tools can be effectively employed to transform these challenges into opportunities for growth and revitalization.

To achieve its goal, the study investigates how Intellectual Property (IP) tools can influence the protection and enhancement of traditional hand weaving in Akhmim. It also explores how these tools can effectively tackle challenges faced by hand weavers in Akhmim including issues such as unfair competition with ready made products, limited market access, high turnover of artisans, and insufficient remuneration. Furthermore, how can the effective utilization of IP tools contribute to sustainable development and innovation in the hand weaving industry?.

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[1] UNCTAD 2010: 140.

[2] UNESCO 2003: 4.

[3] TODD 1902: 14-15.

[4] UNESCO «Handmade Weaving in Upper Egypt (Sa'eed)», https://ich.unesco.org/en/USL/handmade-weaving-in-upper-egypt-sa-eed-01605, accessed on (01/05/2023).

[5] ELGAMMAL & REFAAT 2013: 400; SOLIMAN 2022: 25.

[6] ABDELAZIZ & BREISINGER 2018: 14.

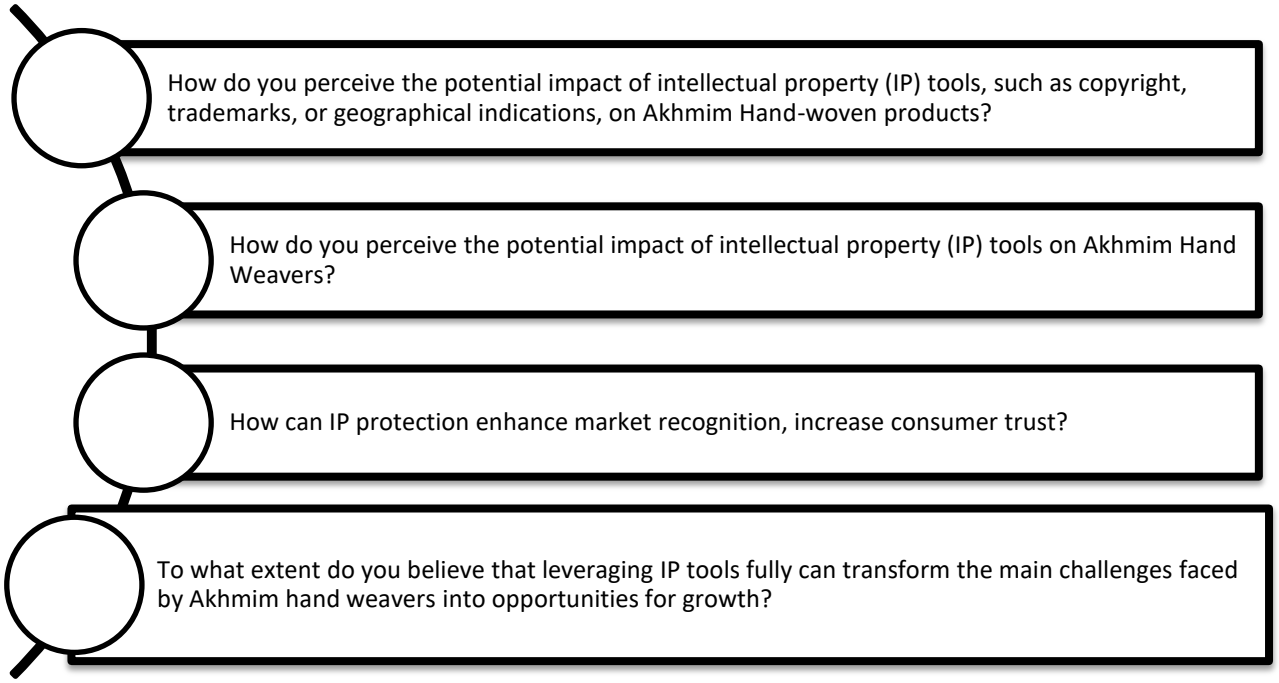
The importance of this study lies in its potential to contribute to the efforts of safeguarding and revitalizing Akhmim's traditional hand weaving. The findings of this study will be valuable not only to scholars and researchers but also to policymakers, cultural institutions, and communities involved in the preservation and development of Akhmim's hand weaving craft. Ultimately, this research aims to support the sustainable growth and recognition of Akhmim's hand weaving as an integral part of Egypt's cultural heritage.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The research adopted a qualitative methodology, through conducting four semi-structured interviews with experts in handicrafts sector. These experts, affiliated with public, private, and non-governmental organizations committed to fostering sustainable development in Egyptian handicraft clusters, these organizations are the Egyptian Chamber of Handcrafts, the Handicrafts Export Council, and a private company specialized in handicrafts marketing. The experts were selected based on their knowledge and prior experience with Akhmim hand-weaving.

The interviews were conducted to explore the potential role of intellectual property (IP) in safeguarding the traditional hand weaving in Akhmim and elevating its status from the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding to the representative list.

The interviews were conducted between 2022- 2023, they were conducted in Arabic and then translated into English. In order to keep the Anonymity of the interviewees, each interviewee's identity was anonymized by using the initial letter of their first names along with their age. The gathered data from these interviews was subsequently subjected to thematic analysis.



Research tool used

The data and information employed in this comparative study were sourced from a diverse range of sources, encompassing secondary sources, literature reviews, and two separate field visits. The first field visit took place in September 2022 to the village of the weavers in Akhmim, where observations and interactions with the local community were carried out. The second field visit occurred in 2021 to Pochampally village in India, where an in-depth examination of the manufacturing process was carried out, including taking notes and photography to document the procedures.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Intellectual Property Rights (IPR)

Intellectual Property refers to «the legal rights which result from intellectual activity in the industrial, scientific, literary and artistic fields»The primary goal of intellectual property law is to protect creators and producers of intellectual goods and services by giving them a certain time period of control over their creations.

Intellectual property is divided into two main types: industrial property and copyright. Industrial property comprises patents for inventions, integrated circuit layout designs, trademarks, geographical indications, utility models, industrial designs, and models. On the other hand, copyright covers literary and artistic works, including plays, poems, novels, musical compositions such as songs and melodies, as well as artistic creations like drawings, paintings, photographs, and statues[7].

Intellectual Property and Traditional Handcraft

According to Torsen M. and Anderson J. Intellectual Property (IP) can play a crucial role in the preservation, promotion, and safeguarding of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage[8]. Traditional handcraft, as one of the elements of intangible heritage, can be broadly categorized into three key components:

- **Reputation:** This pertains to the style, origin, and quality of the handcrafted products.
- **External appearance:** This refers to the shape and design of the handcraft.
- **Know-how:** This encompasses the intangible skills and knowledge employed in creating the handcrafted items.

According to WIPO, various intellectual property tools can be employed to protect each of the above-mentioned elements.9 For instance, the reputation aspect can be safeguarded using tools such as trademarks, collective or certification marks, geographical indications, or unfair competition law. Know-how can be preserved through patents, and the external appearance can be protected through copyright or industrial designs.

[7] WIPO 2004: 3-4.

[8] TORSEN & ANDERSON 2010: 18.

[9] WIPO 2016: 2.

Akhmim

Akhmim, situated in the Sohag governorate in Southern Egypt, has been recognized as one of the most prominent centers for Egyptian hand weaving, tracing its roots back to the ancient Egyptian era [10]. Throughout its history, Akhmim has been a prolific producer of hand-woven textiles, many of which are now on display in museums worldwide. Notably, a significant number of these textiles, known as Coptic textiles, were made between the 4th and 12th centuries[11].

To preserve this invaluable intangible heritage and simultaneously develop a tourist attraction, Sohag governorate took a significant step by establishing the «Village of the Weavers» **[FIGURE 1]** in al-Kawthar city, a mere 17 kilometers from the present-day city of Akhmim. This purpose-built village, established in 1995, comprises 272 houses. Each house has two rooms, with one room serving as a bedroom and the other specifically allocated as a dedicated space for the wooden loom. These houses were offered to weavers at a nominal rent, facilitating the continuation of the hand weaving tradition[12] **[FIGURE 2]**.

[FIGURE 1]: The Hand weaver's Village in Sohag governorate © Photo taken by HASSAN BADAWY

[FIGURE 2]: A Handloom inside one of the houses in the Hand weaver's village © Photo taken by HASSAN BADAWY

[10] ABDELAZIZ & BREISINGER 2018: 14.

[11] HANN & THOMAS 2005: 58.

[12] ELGAMMAL & REFAAT 2013: 396.

Despite the dedicated efforts of the Egyptian government and various development projects aimed at ensuring the sustainability of Akhmim hand weaving craft, current figures and previous studies indicate that the craft is perilously close to extinction, as the craft faces numerous serious challenges including[13]:

- Inadequate coordination among the organizations responsible for the development of the handcraft sector in Egypt.
- Limited availability and high cost of raw materials.
- Substandard working conditions.
- Insufficient remuneration for hand weavers.
- High turnover rates and a lack of interest among younger generations in joining the sector.
- Difficulties in accessing local and international markets.
- Lack of certain skills among weavers, such as marketing, costing, and pricing.
- Competition with imported and factory-made products.
- Absence of branding initiatives.

The current state of the hand-weaving craft has had a detrimental impact on artisans, leading to a significant number of them abandoning the craft in favor of alternative professions, primary because of the negative impact on their earnings. Moreover, the precarious condition of the craft has also discouraged the younger generation from pursuing it as a viable career option[14].

For all the above-mentioned reasons the hand-weaving in Upper Egypt was inscribed in the UNESCO list of ICH in Need of Urgent Safeguarding in 2020, highlighting the imminent risk of its permanent loss[15].

Pochampally

A village located in Nalgonda district in India, around 50 km. from Hyderabad, capital city of Telengana. It consists of 48 smaller villages.

Pochampally is renowned as one of the famous centers for hand-weaving, particularly known for its Ikat style silk sarees that are crafted using pit Handlooms[16]. The term «Ikat» derives its meaning from «to bind», signifying an ancient technique of generating intricate designs in fabric by resist-dyeing the threads prior to weaving. In this process, weavers tie strips of rubber tube onto the threads, creating areas that resist the dye and result in captivating patterns once the ties are removed[17]. The Ikat style of hand-weaving in Pochampally involves a process consisting of 18 steps, which include tying and dyeing bundles of yarn with precision to achieve a sophisticated color pattern before the actual weaving takes place[18].

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[13] ELGAMMAL & REFAAT 2013: 400-401; SOLIMAN 2022: 18.

[14] ELGAMMAL& REFAAT 2013: 402.

[15] SOLIMAN 2022: 52; UNESCO «HANDMADE WEAVING IN UPPER EGYPT (SA'EED)», https://ich.unesco.org/en/USL/ handmade-weaving-in-upper-egypt-sa-eed-01605], accessed on (01/05/2023).

[16] GOURI 2017: 481.

[17] *GLOBAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP SUMMIT* 2017: 2.

[18] GOURI 2017: 482.

[FIGURE 3]: Pit Handloom in Pochampally, https://www.pmgovtscheme.com/telangana-nethanna-bima-scheme/, accessed on (23/03/2023).

The hand weaving craft attracted great number of skillful Indian men and women who value their profession, the numbers show that there are around 5000 artisans and around 2000 pit looms in the village, which show that a great number of people depend on hand weaving as their main source of income. Most of the houses in Pochampally contain a place dedicated for Hand-weaving[19].

The Performance of Pochampally Hand Weaving Craft before Making Use of IP Tools

According to the published articles, the hand weaving craft in Pochampally was facing significant challenges. These challenges included: a deficiency in the marketing skills of the crafters, a limited range of product offerings, inadequate compensation for hand weavers, and reduced demand for authentic products due to competition with inexpensive products produced by mechanical looms[20]. As a result of all of these challenges , many artisans were forced to depart the village to search for alternative employment opportunities that would offer them better income[21].

To tackle the challenges confronted by the Pochampally hand weaving craft and ensure its preservation, as well as to establish a unique identity for Pochampally hand-woven products, a number of intellectual property (IP) tools have been effectively utilized. These tools played a crucial role in enhancing the marketability of Pochampally hand-woven products and safeguarding them against unauthorized competition from producers who replicate Pochampally designs using low-cost mechanical looms, deceptively marketing their products as genuine handmade items. These IP tools include:

[19] GOURI 2017: 481; UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE CENTRE: «Iconic Saree Weaving Clusters of India - UNESCO World Heritage Centre, https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5890/, accessed on (17/04/ 2023).

[20] ROUT 2021, TEXTILE VALUE CHAIN «GI as an Instrument for Sustainable Development: A Case of Pochampally», https://textilevaluechain.in/ in-depth-analysis/articles/traditional-textiles/ gi-as-an-instrument- for- sustainable -development - a – case –of - pochampally - ikat/, accessed on (23/11/2023).

[21] GOURI 2017: 485; GOPALAKRISHNAN & BABU 2017:15.

Geographical Indication

As defined by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), a Geographical Indication (GI) is «a sign used on products that have a specific geographical origin and possess qualities or a reputation that are due to that origin»[22]. It identifies a product as originating in a specific place[23]. This allows producers of the product to protect it from imitation, as it gives the right holders the power to restrict others from using the indication if their product doesn't meet the defined standards[24]. Pochampally hand-woven Sarees was successfully received GI certification in 2005, making it the first Indian handicraft to receive this award[25].

Trademark

A trademark is defined as «a sign that identifies and distinguishes in the marketplace the products of one enterprise from those of other enterprises». It can consist of various elements such as letters, drawings, distinctive words, colors, labels, numerals, shapes, logos, pictures, or combinations thereof. The primary purpose of a trademark is to enable customers to recognize a specific company's product or service and differentiate it from similar offerings provided by competitors. Additionally, trademarks help prevent consumer deception by ensuring that customers are not misled into purchasing counterfeit or fake products[26]. Pochampally handloom products have been granted trademark protection since 2018. The trademark includes letters and lines[27].

[FIGURE 4]: Trademark of Pochampally handloom products, http://bit.ly/41HTfHB, accessed on (23/03/2023)

The Performance of Pochampally Hand Weaving Craft after the Utilization of IP Tools

It is believed that after being granted the GI certification as well as trademark registration which resulted in the protection of the Pochampally products against the cheap products, the marketability of these products in the local and international market increased[28] and the products started to be sold for high prices as it became a well-known brand[29] **[TABLE 1].**

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[22] WIPO 2021: 6.

[23] WIPO «Geographical Indications», https://www.wipo.int/geo_indications/en/, accessed on (20/09/2023).

[24] WIPO 2021: 23

[25] SAVITHRI & KUMAR 2014: 421; GOURI 2017: 481.

[26] WIPO 2006: 8, 34.

[27] *Global Brand Database*, http://bit.ly/41HTfHB, accessed on (24/12/2023).

[28] ROUT 2021, https: // textilev aluechain. in / in- depth- analysis / articles/traditional -textiles/ gi-as-an-instrument -for - sustainable- development -a- case –of –pochampally- ikat, accessed on (23/03/2023)

[29] GOURI 2017: 475-494.

Products	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Growth rate
Silk Saree (Rs/pc)	1443.15	1505.51	1600.23	2000.29	2500.36	3125.45	17.38
Cotton Saree (Rs/pc)	360.50	380.00	380.00	456.00	547.20	656.64	12.99
Cotton LDM (Rs/pc)	233.75	236.25	242.50	291.00	349.20	419.04	12.99
Cotton Fabrics (Rs/mtr)	66.00	68.00	68.00	81.60	97.92	117.50	12.62
All	1405.68	1466.12	1558.01	1946.38	2431.62	3037.89	17.33

[TABLE 1]: Prices of Pochampally products before and after GI certification. ROUT 2021, https://textilevaluechain.in/in-depth-analysis/articles/traditional-textiles/gi-as-an-instrument-for-sustainable-development-a-case-of-pochampally-ikat, accessed on (23/03/2023)

The high demand for Pochampally products has resulted in significant improvements in various aspects, including the overall income of the artisans, their employability prospects, and the quality of the products[30]. While silk sarees remain the most renowned Pochampally product, producers have expanded their offerings to meet consumer demand **[FIGURE 5]**. They now create a diverse range of products such as ladies' dresses, bed covers, curtains, pillow covers, bedspreads, and wall hangings[31] additionally, artisans have started customizing their products based on special design requests received from consumers. This personalized approach enhances the value of the products and contributes to customer satisfaction. In line with the growing focus on sustainability, Pochampally artisans have also begun incorporating organic raw materials like cotton, silk, and natural dyes into their weaving processes[32].

[FIGURE 5]: Samples of Pochampally Sarees, https://pochampally.com/, accessed on (23/03/2023)

In response to the strong demand for Pochampally products, employers have undertaken significant initiatives to retain their skilled craftsmen. Their efforts focus on enhancing the overall working conditions, prioritizing safety, and ensuring a secure environment. Through a carefully designed workplace layout, weavers can now benefit from abundant fresh air and natural light. The use of specifically chosen construction materials further ensures a consistently cool temperature within the workshop, even in

[30] ROUT 2021.

[31] GOPALAKRISHNAN et Al. 2017: 25

[32] AIACA 2009: 49

the sweltering heat of summer. Furthermore, a fan has been strategically installed over each loom to elevate comfort for the weavers during their intricate work. This thoughtful approach extends to comprehensive medical insurance coverage[33].

Obtaining a geographical indication certification, and the consequent increase in the demand for purchasing Pochampally products have had positively affected the productivity of the weavers who got motivated by the enhanced income[34] **[TABLE 2].**

Parameters	Year						Growth Rates
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	
Production (value) (in Rs. crore)	11.98	12.89	13.27	15.93	19.12	22.94	14.09
Employment (No)	452	456	464	614	619	628	8.46
Productivity (in mtr)	190.53	210.54	217.22	238.94	262.83	289.11	8.47
Sales Turnover (in Rs. crore)	9.61	11.44	11.68	14.37	17.68	21.74	17.33

[TABLE 2]: key indications of Pochampally Hand-Weaving before and after GI certification. Rout 2021, https://textilevaluechain.in/in-depth-analysis/articles/traditional-textiles/gi-as-an-instrument-for-sustainable-development-a-case-of-pochampally-ikat, accessed on (23/03/2023)

With the grant of Intellectual Property Rights protection through receiving Geographical Indication (GI) certification, the hand-weaving craft in Pochampally has emerged as a prominent tourist attraction. Visitors, both local and international, are drawn to the village to witness the intricate manufacturing process of hand-woven products and engage in conversations with the skilled weavers to deepen their understanding of this craft. Their visits often end by purchasing hand-woven products, thereby contributing to the sustainable development of the village. Recognizing its significant cultural and tourism value, Pochampally was selected as the best tourism village by the UNWTO in 2021[35].

The recognition and popularity gained after receiving the geographical indication certificate have inspired the Telangana State Tourism Development Corporation (TSTDC), a governmental agency responsible for promoting tourism in Telangana, to establish a museum dedicated to documenting the tools and aspects of the hand weaving craft in Pochampally. The museum exhibits a variety of wooden spinning wheels, different types of handlooms, and displays samples of hand-woven fabrics. Visitors often start their visit by exploring the museum and then proceed to visit the workshops of the weavers, where they can witness the weaving process firsthand[36] **[FIGURE 6].**

[33] AIACA 2009: 49.

[34] ROUT 2021.

[35] UNWTO «POCHAMPALLY TOURISM VILLAGE», https://www.unwto.org/tourism-villages/en/villages/pochampally/, accessed on (2/4/2023).

[36] SAVITHRI & KUMAR 2014: 421.

[FIGURE 6]: The Museum of Hand weaving in Pochampally © Photos taken by HASSAN BADAWY

Discussion

After reviewing relevant literature and conducting semi-structured interviews to evaluate the impact of intellectual property (IP) tools on protecting the traditional hand-weaving cluster in Akhmim and addressing obstacles hindering its sustainable development, nine key areas have been identified. These are the primary areas where intellectual property tools can enhance and transform weaknesses into strengths. This transformation is expected to have a positive impact on safeguarding and sustaining the hand-weaving craft in Akhmim. These areas have been classified into three main themes namely the product, the crafters, the customers.

Product related areas:

- **Branding**

Branding stands out as a crucial element in marketing, encompassing a range of tangible and intangible features like name, symbols, designs, logos, and customer experience. These elements are crafted to enhance recognition and build the image and reputation of a company or product. In a market saturated with numerous products, fostering intense competition, branding is widely acknowledged as a powerful tool. It serves as an effective means to distinguish a product, allowing customers to identify and connect with a specific product or service[37].

M45 has claimed that «*Despite its great reputation in the field of hand weaving, Akhmim products lack any kind of branding, it is difficult for the customers to distinguish between all showcased hand-woven products, we need to create a brand that will help in*

[37] WIPO 2006: 11.

enhancing the awareness and the loyalty of the customers towards the Akhmim hand woven products»[38].

A42 indicated that «*there are many cheap ready made products are being marketed under the name of Akhmim handmade products which resulted in reducing the demand on the original products which made a great number of skillful hand weavers to search for any other profitable profession»*[39].

M45 and A42 comments revealed that the lack of branding of Akhmim Hand weaving products has resulted in misleading of the customers, unfair completion with the cheap products, reduction of the marketability of the products, minimization of the artisans profit, and the unwillingness of the artisans to remain in this field.

- **Product Marketing**

Marketing has been regarded as the most serious challenge that face the handcraft sector in Egypt, such problem caused by many reasons including: the limited accesses to the local and international markets, The craftsmen's lack of electronic marketing skills[40] also identifies marketing as the primary obstacle facing the hand weaving craft in Akhmim.

H49 mentioned «*using a trademark and/or geographical indication tools will enhance the marketability of the Akhmim hand-weaving products as the customers will became sure that the products are original and made by Akhmim Hand weavers, they also will be able to trust the quality and the information written on the label of the products»*[41].

The observation made by H49 highlights the role of IP tools in enhancing brand credibility, which in turn increases customers' motivation to purchase the product. This finding aligns with the research conducted by the International Trade Centre and WIPO[42] that indicates the crucial role of trademarks in facilitating customers' decision-making process by confirming the source of a particular product, ultimately leading to increased sales promotion.

- **Product Diversification**

One of the problems that confront the Egyptian handicrafts sector is limited diversity in final products and designs[43]. In Akhmim, hand weavers primarily focus on producing a restricted range of hand woven items, such as bed covers, cushion covers, and shawls[44] **[FIGURE 7].**

[38] M45, *OWNER OF A HANDMADE PRODUCT MARKETING COMPANY*, 2022.

[39] A42, *AN OFFICIAL AT EGYPTIAN CHAMBER OF HANDICRAFTS*, 2022.

[40] THE GOVERNMENT OF SOHAJ, 2013, QAREET ELNASEEG(unpublished report); SOLIMAN 2022: 54.

[41] H49, *AN OFFICIAL AT HANDICRAFTS EXPORT COUNCIL*, 2022.

[42] INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTRE & WIPO 2003: 32

[43] SOLIMAN 2022: 62

[44] ELGAMMAL & REFAAT 2013: 401.

[FIGURE 7]: Samples of Akhmim hand woven items, https://www.dandarah.ca/collections/, accessed on (2/4/2023).

R50 said «*all the hand weaving workshops in Akhmim produce the same products which they are trained to produce, this because they believe that there is no need to produce a new designs as long as there is no demand for it, but sometimes the bazar owners in Cairo, Hurghada, Luxor and Aswan provide the hand weavers with a certain design and ask them to create it, in this case craftsmen do not oppose making new designs. Using IP tools will increase the demand on Akhmim products and of course will increase the tendency of the crafters to diversify their products to satisfy such growing demand*»[45].

What was mentioned by R50 is supported by the findings of the International Trade Centre and WIPO[46] which noted that using IP tools like trademarks will enable artisans to maintain the current customers and acquire new customers who will ask for new designs and colors, for that reason the artisans will adapt their products to meet such demand and increase their earnings, as well as to offer customers an assortment of products to buy.

- **Product Quality**

The lack of quality control is considered one of the problems that face the hand weaving products in Akhmim[47].

In this context R50 has stated that «*sometimes the law quality of Akhmim hand woven products is due to using low quality raw materials, also there are no quality standards that the artisans have to adhere to, the matter which resulted in the inability of the products to compete in the local and international markets. The registration of the craft under IP tools will require the crafters to produce high quality products in order to enhance the reputation of the business and to ensure that their products deserve to be granted with the intellectual property protection as they will do their best to maintain the image of the brand to increase the sales volume of the products and increase their income*» (R50, CEO of a non-governmental organization, 2022)

The World Trade Organization and the WIPO[48] report that consumers often purchase products based on the trademark associated with them, which assure a

[45] R50, *CEO OF A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION*, 2022.
[46] INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTRE & WIPO 2003: 32
[47] ELGAMMAL& REFAAT 2013: 400
[48] INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTRE & WIPO 2003: 52

specific level of quality or certain attributes. If the consumers fail to receive the expected quality, they are likely to be discouraged from buying that brand again.

Crafters- Related Areas

- **Income**

Low remuneration is acknowledged as one of the major problems that face Akhmim Hand Weavers, therefore many artisans shifted to any other profitable source of income[49]. In this regard M45 and A42 stated that «*the Hand weavers have families that they have to take care of, the income which is generated from Hand weaving craft is insufficient to make them able to meet their family needs and this pushes them to search for any other job opportunity with a higher income*».

R50 also stated that «in *case of being grated one the tools of IP like trademark or GI, I believe that this will cause a significant positive change in the price of products compared to the cheap products which tries to imitate Akhmim original handmade products, and will also increase the marketing opportunities of the hand woven products, Thus, the craftsman's income will improve significantly*»[50].

The aforementioned statements go in line with Bhat and Singh[51] who have indicated that IP tools like GI can enhance profits for artisans through premium pricing as consumers are willing to pay up to 30 % more for GI labeled products. Also, According to the World Trade Organization and WIPO[52] IP tools will generate higher income for the artisans as a result of increased demand for products which will lower per unit overhead costs.

- **Crafters Retention**

One of the problems that sand the Hand-Weaving craft in Akhmim is the high rate of artisan's turnover and the unwillingness of the new generations to join this sector[53]

A42 said «the *low remuneration of the artisans and the other challenges that face craft made them search for other job opportunities that can provide them with higher income to meet the needs of their families, even the new generations are not motivated to join this sector because they noticed that current crafters are leaving the sector in search of other jobs, and sometimes the workshop owners depend one small number of artisans as they don't have the capacity to hire an additional number of artisans*»[54].

H49 noted that «*I think that the registration of Akhmim Hand weaving under the IP tools will increase the marketing opportunities of the products and thus the artisan's income, so there will be no need to search for another job, also the motivation of new generations and their desire to join this sector will increase*»[55].

The above mentioned statement revealed that IP tools can play an essential role in reducing the high rates of artisan's turnover through increasing the demand on the

[49] ELGAMMAL& REFAAT 2013: 401.
[50] R50, *CEO of a non-governmental organization*, 2022.
[51] BHAT & SINGH 2019: 14.
[52] INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTRE & WIPO 2003: 46.
[53] ELGAMMAL& REFAAT 2013: 402.
[54] A42, *AN OFFICIAL AT EGYPTIAN CHAMBER OF HANDICRAFTS*, 2022.
[55] H49, *AN OFFICIAL AT HANDICRAFTS EXPORT COUNCIL*, 2022.

hand woven products which will result in increasing the income of the artisans, the matter which will increase the tendency of the younger generations to join the sector.

The finding is compatible with Bhat and Singh[56] and WIPO [57] which indicated that the IP tools like for example GI can play a vital role in increasing the job opportunities especially in the handicraft sector.

- **Crafter Productivity**

Both A42 and M45 said «*The low demand for Akhmim hand-woven products has resulted in the low productivity of the weaver, as he will not make new products unless being able to market the products that were previously produced. The expected high demand for the hand-woven products after being granted one of the tools of intellectual property rights will motivate the weavers to increase their productivity to meet the demand and raise their income*».

R50 said «the high demand on hand-woven products will motivate the workshop owners to hire an additional number of artisans to enhance the production volume»[58].

What was mentioned by the interviewees is compatible with the findings of Xiaotian & Xiaopeng[59] who noted that the IPR enhance the productivity of the business.

- **Working Environment**

Working environment has been mentioned as one of the challenges that face the Hand weaving artisans as most of the workshops lack good ventilation and natural lightening, there are no fans to make the weather cooler in the summer no heaters to make the weather warmer in the winter[60].

H49 said «*the current marketing volume of the products doesn't allow workshop owners to enhance the working environment of the artisans, as they have to pay the wages of the artisans, buy raw materials as well as pay taxes. The expected high demands on the products after being registered under IP tools will increase the profit of the workshops owners who will be motivated to enhance the satisfaction of artisans to boost their retention*»[61].

Customers- Related Areas

- **Product Identification**

The original handmade products usually face unfair competition against cheap products that try to imitate the original products to mislead the customers who don't know how to differentiate between the fake lower quality products and original handmade products[62].

A42 added that «*many fake low quality products are being sold under the name of Akhmim Handmade products with cheaper prices, in this case the customer who cannot distinguish between the original and fake products will go for the cheaper prices the matter that created a profound negative impact on the marketability of the original handmade woven*

[56] BHAT & SINGH 2019: 15.
[57] WIPO 2021: 15.
[58] R50, CEO OF A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION, 2022.
[59] XIAOTIAN & XIAOPENG 2022: 14.
[60] ELGAMMAL& REFAAT 2013: 404.
[61] H49, AN OFFICIAL AT HANDICRAFTS EXPORT COUNCIL, 2022.
[62] WIPO 2006: 12.

products. The IP tools will be valuable assets as it will help the customers to identify the original products»[63].

A42 note goes in line with the International Trade Centre and WIPO, both of which indicate that IP tools help the customers to distinguish between original products made by an artisan or a group or in a certain geographical location and those similar products[64].

IV. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the study highlights the importance of intellectual property as a tool for safeguarding traditional handicrafts, as demonstrated by the successful use of IP in the Pochampally hand-weaving craft. By utilizing IP tools, the Akhmim Hand Weaving Cluster has the potential to overcome various challenges and improve the sustainability and efficiency of the hand-weaving craft.

Utilizing intellectual property is anticipated to boost artisans' motivation to safeguard their skills and transmit them to succeeding generations. It is expected to improve the market appeal of hand-woven products, elevate the income of weavers, decrease the turnover rate among artisans, safeguard original products from counterfeit competition, inspire craftspeople to diversify their final offerings and incentivize employers to offer improved working conditions for the artisans. The implementation of IP tools can bring about positive impacts for the hand-weaving craft in Akhmim, contributing to its brand building, product diversification, and environmental and safety standards.

[63] A42, *an official at Egyptian chamber of Handicrafts*, 2022.

[64] INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTRE & WIPO 2003: 73.

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TEMPER CHARACTERISTICS AND DAMAGE DIAGNOSIS OF SOME PRE-DYNASTIC POTTERY IN TELL HASSAN DAOUD, ISMAILIA, EGYPT

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ABSTRACT

[AR] **الخواص التركيبية للإضافات وتشخيص تلف فخار عصر ما قبل الاسرات بتل آثار حسن داؤود بالإسماعيلية، مصر**

يقع تل حسن داؤود بمحافظة الاسماعيلية ويعود تاريخه الي عصر ما قبل الاسرات وتم الفحص والتحليل للعينات محل الدراسة بالميكروسكوب المجسم Stereoscopic Microscope والفحص بالميكروسكوب المستقطب polarizing Microscope والفحص بالميكروسكوب الإلكتروني الماسح Scanning Electron Microscope المزود بوحدة تشتت طاقة الأشعة السينية (EDX) والتحليل بطريقة حيود الأشعة السينية X-Ray Diffraction. والتحليل الحراري Thermal Analysis. وأثبتت الفحوص والتحاليل المختلفة الخواص التركيبية للإضافات المستخدمة في صناعة الفخار في عصر ما قبل الاسرات وهي التبن المقرط والرمل ومسحوق الفخار ومسحوق الحجر الجيري وتعيين نوع الطين المستخدم في تشكيل الاواني وهو الطفلة النيلية Nile Clay والمعالجات السطحية هي الغسول الأحمر. والحرق شبه جيد وجو الحرق مزيج من الجو المؤكسد والمختزل. كما اثبت البحث مظاهر تلف فخار عصر ما قبل الاسرات بالموقع الاثري حيث يعاني الفخار من تشوه سطحي بفعل رواسب التربة الرملية الطينية، فضلا عن ظاهرة تقشر السطح وطبقة البطانة وشروخ دقيقة وعميقة وظاهرة الكسر وانفصال الحبيبات الخشنة « التحبب» وقلة المتانة والفجوات واللب الأسود والاملاح المتبلورة مثل الكلوريدات والكبريتات والكربونات والفوسفات من جراء الدفن في تربة زراعية. وبناءا على نتائج الفحوص والتحاليل يحتاج الي تدخلات علاجيه لترميمه وصيانته وعرضه متحفيا بتل اثار حسن داؤود بالإسماعيلية.

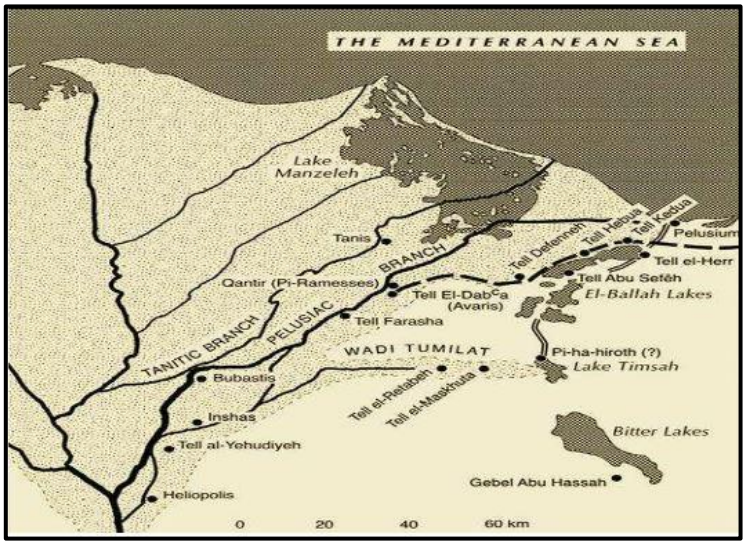
[EN] Tell Hassan Daoud site is located in Ismailia Governorate and dates back to the pre-dynastic period. Many microscopic examinations were used in the research such as stereoscopic microscope, polarizing microscope, scanning electron microscope equipped with an X-ray energy dispersive unit (EDX), X-ray diffraction, and thermal analysis. The various examinations and analyses proved temper characteristics in archaeological pottery, which consist of burnt straw, sand, limestone powder «calcite», and pottery powder «grog». The type of clay used in shaping pots is Nile clay. The surface treatment is red wash «hematite». The burning atmosphere is a mixture of a oxidizing and reducing. The research revealed damage to the pre-dynastic pottery at the archaeological site. The pottery exhibits superficial deformation caused by sandy clay soil sediments, surface peeling, micro cracks, macro cracks, fractures, separation of grains, granulation, poor durability, gaps, a black core, and the presence of crystalline salts such as chlorides, sulfates, carbonates, and phosphates due to burial in agricultural soil.. Based on the results of examinations and analyses, treatment interventions are required for the restoration, maintenance, and display of the pottery

KEY WORDS: Clay, deterioration, fabric, grog, pottery, temper, Red wash, sediments.

I.INTRODUCTION

Tell Hassan Daoud is located about 8 km northwest of the city of al-Tal al-Kabeer. The site is far from Zagazig-Ismailia agricultural road, about 4 km away. It is 6 km west of al-Ratabi site. Its area is 400 m x 300 m. It is surrounded by agricultural lands. It is considered to be one of the most important archaeological sites in the Delta. Its oldest layers date back to the Maadi civilization period, «Butu in Lower Egypt», which is equivalent to the Naqada I period in Upper Egypt dating back to 3600 BC. The excavations at the site revealed archaeological layers dating back to the pre-dynastic and early dynastic periods[1].

The first excavation of Tell Hassan Daoud was in 1989 through the mission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. It revealed archaeological layers dating back to the pre-dynastic era. These excavations revealed some important cultural features at the archaeological site, such as a cemetery containing 620 tombs. The archaeological site was named Tell Hassan Daoud based on a small village called Hassan Daoud, which is located about one hundred and fifty meters southwest of the site. It is a very small village built on a high elevation and was most likely part of the site[2], as in **[FIGURE 1]**.



[FIGURE 1]: Represents Tell Hassan Daoud site and Wadi al-Tumailat. SALEM 1998: 82.

Egyptian and foreign excavation missions revealed thousands of different pottery pieces, many different ovens for cooking, kilns of burning pottery, and stone vessels such as schist and alabaster[3]. Tell Hassan Daoud site is located in the eighth district of Delta[4]. Pottery plays an important role in determining chronology, establishing regional geographical classification, and understanding civilizational cultural progress. These are attributed to different manufacturing techniques, burning methods, and different patterns of decoration between regions[5]. Advanced examinations and analytic methods contributed to accurately identifying the manufacturing parameters for archaeological pottery[6].

[1] DIAB 2022: 3.
[2] SALEM 1992: 82.
[3] NOUREDDINE 2018: 340.
[4] KAMEL 1989: 116.
[5] TÜRKTEKI 2020: 59.
[6] HENDERSON et Al.2010: 1-24.

Leveraging numerous microscopic examinations in materials science serves specific objectives, providing insights into both archaeometric and technological features[7]. Polarizing microscopes play an important role in identifying additives, mineral composition; grain shapes their interrelationships, petrographic structure, as well as the assessment of treatments and burning[8]. Scanning electron microscopy shows morphological parameters[9]. It provides us with information about micro-structure and various manifestations of damage[10]. Microscopic examinations show technological aspects, mineral composition, various additives, and different kinds of damage[11].

The research aims to analyze the microstructure of different temper variations, evaluating various technological aspects in the process. The research also focuses on diagnosing the damage of pre-dynastic pottery in tell Hassan Daoud in the eastern region. This involves classification, dating, and restoration, based on the results of microscopic examinations.

II. Study Methodology

Study Samples

In this study, some samples of archaeological pottery and soil samples from Tell Hassan Daoud site in Ismailia were microscopically examined.

1. Study Methods

A. Visual Examination

This is considered one of the important methods for determining artistic values[12], many different lenses were used to identify the tempers, the archaeological aspects, textures, and damage[13].

B. Stereomicroscope

This is an important method for identifying archaeometric, technological characteristics, and various types of damage[14]. The device used is SZ680, Objectives Zoom Range: 0.68X-4.7X, Zoom Ratio: 1: 6.8, Field Diameter (mm): Φ23, Working Distance (mm): 110, Stereo Angle (°): 12, Viewing Angle (°), 35, Magnification: 3.5～22.5. This examination was carried out at the Faculty of Science/ Zagazig University.

C. Polarizing Microscope Examination

The petrographic examination shows microstructure, type of tempers, mineral components of the pottery[15], thermal changes during pottery manufacture (burning), grain size, red wash, slip layer, the nature of burning, and damage such as cracks, gaps,

[7] Abdelmoniem et Al. 2020: 7-17.
[8] Arezki & Ouamar 2020: 51-60.
[9] Alawneh et Al. 2017: 201-213.
[10] Mabrouk 2020: 163-170.
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[12] Pawtowska et Al. 2023: 99.
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[14] Moustafa et Al. 2022: 3-14.
[15] Lototska et Al. 2022: 31-42.

and flaking[16], thin sections were prepared for petrographic examination. The device used is the Nikon Eclipse E200 POL. Optical system: CFI60 infinity optical system, Eyepieces: Standard set: 10x (F.O.V. 22mm), CM type with 90°crosshair and micrometer scale, Intermediate tube: Built-in focusable Bertrand lens removable from optical path; Built-in analyzer removable from optical path; Conoscopic/Orthoscopic observations switchable; With plate/compensator slot, Analyzer: 360° rotary dial; Minimum reading angle 0.1°, Coarse/fine focusing: 0.2 mm per rotation; Coarse: 37.7mm per rotation, Stage: 160mmø circular. This examination was carried out at the Faculty of Science Cairo University.

D. Scanning Electron Microscope Examination

This shows the morphological structure of the pottery samples, grain sizes, their distribution, their interrelationships, fabrics, red wash, slip layer, different manifestations of damage, and the mineral components of the pottery[17]. The device is a Quanta FEG250 SEM unit . This examination was carried out at the National Research Center in Cairo.

E. X-Ray Diffraction Analysis (XRD).

This is considered one of the most important analytical methods to identify mineral components, changes caused by firing, and damage resulting from burial in soil[18]. The device used is ADX-2500 X-ray Diffract meter. Control mode: 1kV/step, 1mA/step controlled by PC , Rated output power is 4 kW, Tube voltage: 10 ~ 60 kV, Tube current: 5~80mA, X-raytube: Cu,Fe,Co,Cr,Mo(2.4kW) Focus dimension: 1mm × 10mm^2 or 0.4mm ×10 mm^2, Scan range of 2θ: -6° ~ 160°, Setting speed of angle: 1500°/min, This analysis was conducted at the Faculty of Science Cairo University.

F. Thermogravimetric Analysis «TGA»

This method determines the firing temperature of pottery according to loss of weight and mineral changes during the firing of samples[19]. Three pottery samples were analyzed by a thermal analysis device known as Perkin Elmer STA 6000. The temperature program ranged from room temperature to 1500°C, measurement range: ±0.1 to ±1000 μV, heating speed: 0 to+50°C/min. Weight loss and mineral changes were recorded on the chart.

2. Results

A. Visual Examination

The examination shows that the pottery samples in Tell Hassan Daoud, Ismailia in the eastern Delta suffer from sandy mud sediments, crystalline salts, cracking, fracture, flaking, breaking, and black core. The visual examination also indicates that the pots were shaped manually; the rims were made using a potter wheel, as in **[FIGURE 2]**.

[16] PACHUTA et Al. 2022: 753-770.

[17] SANDBAKKEN et Al. 2022: 1681-1690.

[18] ABDELMONIEM et Al. 2022: 1087-1100.

[19] SEISEH et Al. 2023: 3-18.

[FIGURE 2]: The archaeological site. A. Pottery vessels; B. Pottery shards © Photo taken by the researcher

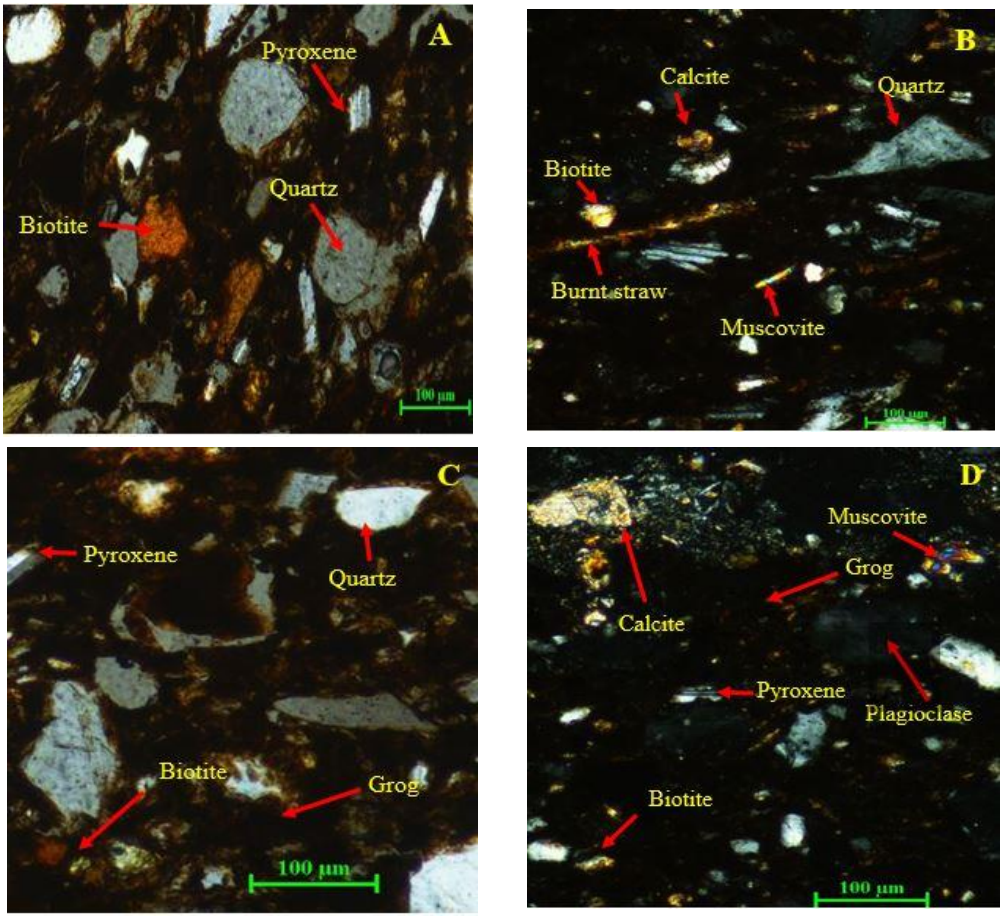
B. Stereomicroscope

This shows archaeometric, technological characteristics, and various damage manifestations with magnification (6X) as in **[FIGURE 3]**.

[FIGURE 3]: Stereomicroscope examination. A. First sample (quartz); B. Second sample (calcite); C. Third sample (burnt straw, gaps & cracks) © Done by the researcher

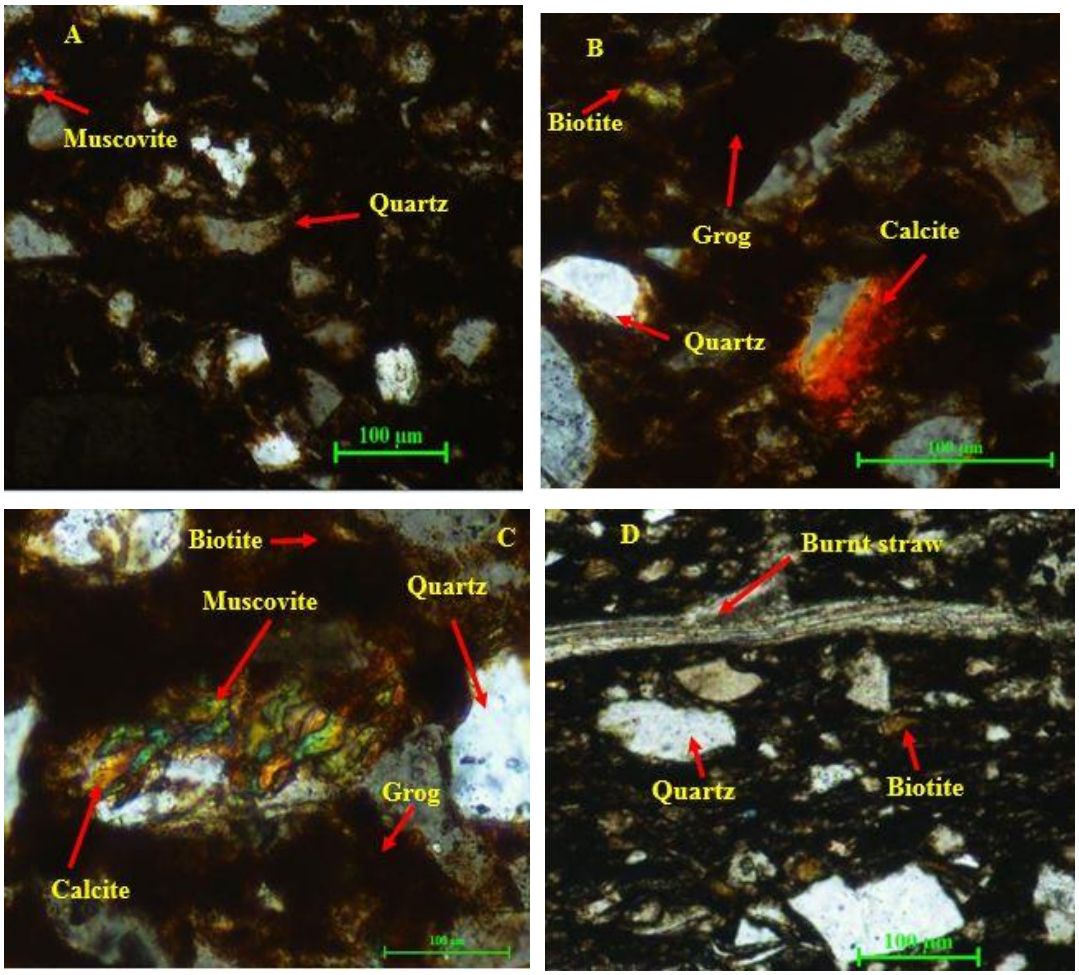
C. Polarizing Microscope Examination

The petrographic examination of the samples is shown in **[FIGURE 4]**, where the examination revealed coarse quartz grains. The texture is semi-round quartz granules, others are sharp angles, biotite, pyroxene, rutile and iron oxide with a magnification of (40X - CN) as in **[FIGURE 4/a]**. Another part of the same sample was also examined as in **[FIGURE 4/b]** showing coarse- quartz grains, limestone powder «calcite», biotite, muscovite, burnt straw, and iron oxide with magnification (40X – CN). Examination of the core area as seen in **[FIGURE 4/c]** shows the presence of coarse quartz grains, along with grog «pottery powder», mica biotite, pyroxene, and iron oxides with magnification (40X - CN). The examination of another part of the core as seen in **[FIGURE 4/d]** showed coarse quartz granules, as well as grog, calcite, muscovite, pyroxene, plagioclase, and iron oxide at magnification (40X - CN).



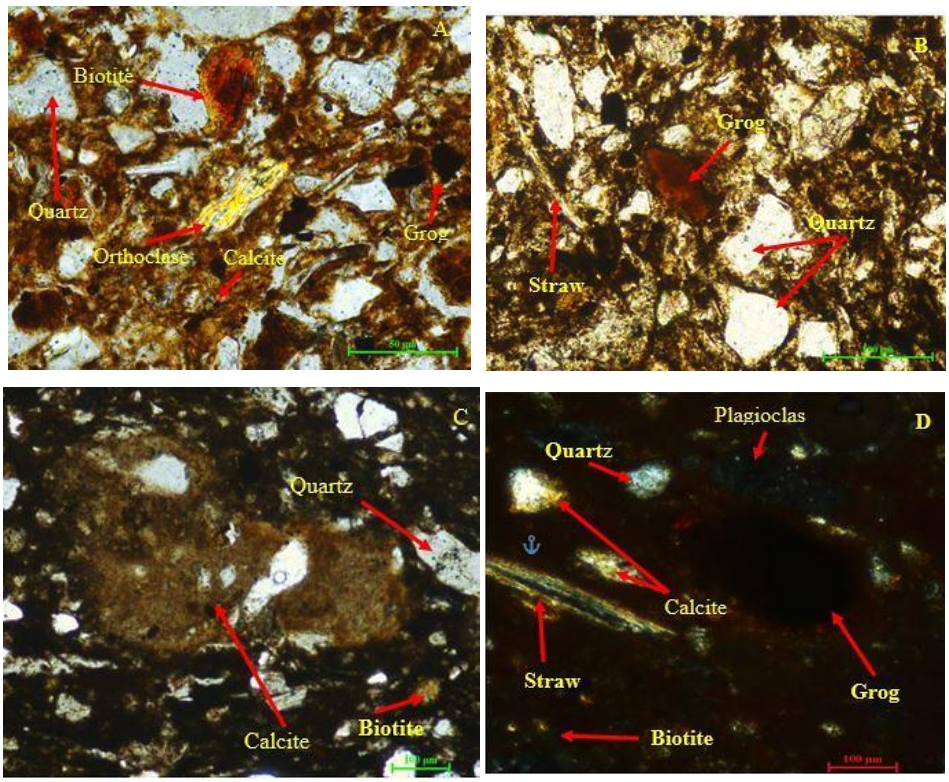
[FIGURE 4]: Petrographic examination of the first pottery sample. A. Quartz, biotite, pyroxene and rutile; B. Quartz, calcite, biotite, muscovite and burnt straw; C. Quartz, biotite, pyroxene and grog; D. Quartz, calcite, grog, muscovite, plagioclase and pyroxene © Done by the researcher

The examination of the second pottery sample also shows the presence of coarse texture of sharp-angled quartz grains, in addition to the presence of rutile, mica biotite, and iron oxide with a magnification (40X - CN) as seen in **[FIGURE 5/a]**. Another part of the same sample was examined; **[FIGURE 5/b]** shows coarse quartz grains, mica biotite, grog, calcite, and iron oxide with magnification (40X - CN). Examination of the core seen in **[FIGURE 5/c]** showed sharp-angled coarse quartz grains, calcite, biotite, muscovite, and iron with magnification (40X - CN). The examination of another part of the same core as seen in **[FIGURE 5/d]** showed the presence of coarse quartz grains, burnt straw, biotite, and Iron **oxides** with a magnification (40X - CN).



[FIGURE 5]: Petrographic examination of the second pottery sample. A. Quartz, biotite, iron and oxides; B. Quartz, grog, biotite and calcite; C. Quartz, biotite, muscovite, calcite and iron; D. Quartz, burnt straw and biotite © Done by the researcher

Examination of the third pottery sample showed the presence of a coarse texture of sharp-angled quartz grains, in addition to rutile, biotite, muscovite, orthoclase, and iron with a magnification (40X - CN), which is seen in **[FIGURE 6/a]**. Another part of the same sample was examined showing coarse quartz granules with sharp angled grains, biotite, grog, burnt straw, rutile, and iron oxide under magnification (40X - CN) **[FIGURE 6/b]**. The examination of the core showed coarse quartz granules, sharp angled grains, calcite, and iron under magnification (40X - CN). Another part of the same core seen in **[FIGURE 6/c]**, showed coarse quartz grains, grog, burnt straw, biotite, calcite, plagioclase, and iron under magnification (40X - CN) **[FIGURE 6/d]**.



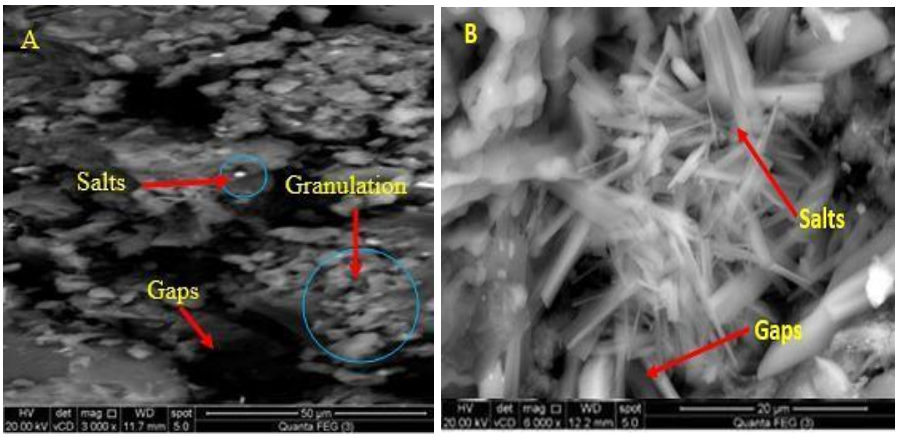
[FIGURE 6]: The petrographic examination of the third pottery sample. A. Quartz, biotite, orthoclase, grog and iron; B. Quartz, grog, burnt straw and iron; C. Quartz, calcite, biotite and iron; D. Quartz, grog, burnt straw, biotite, calcite, plagioclase and iron © Done by the researcher

3. Examination and Analysis by SEM-EDX Unit

The pottery samples were examined and analyzed using a scanning electron microscope.

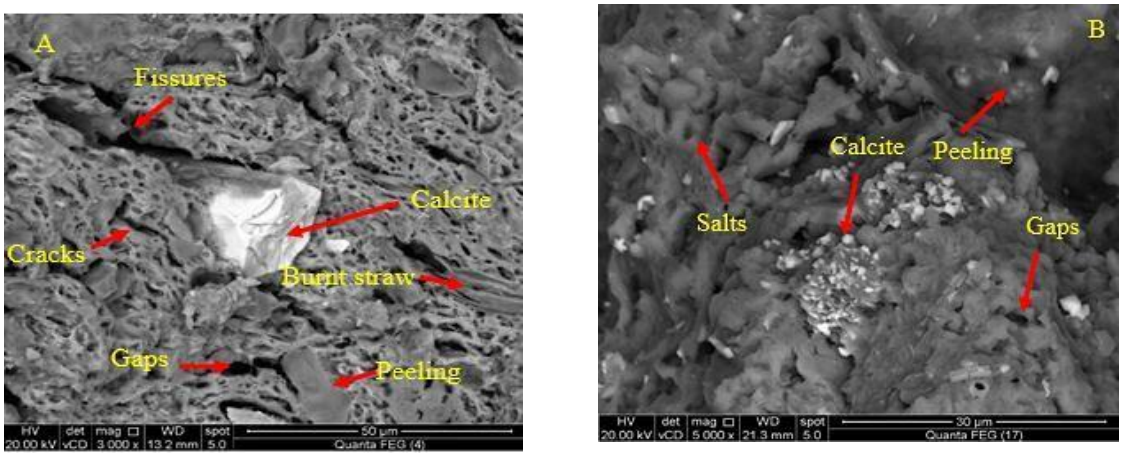
A. SEM Examination

The first sample, seen in **[FIGURE 7/a]**, shows the presence of many gaps, crystalline salts, separation of grains, peeling, and soil sediments with a magnification (3000 X). Another part was examined showing coarse texture, coarse quartz grains, gaps, flaking, crystallization of salts, and cracks with a magnification (6000X) **[FIGURE 7/b].**



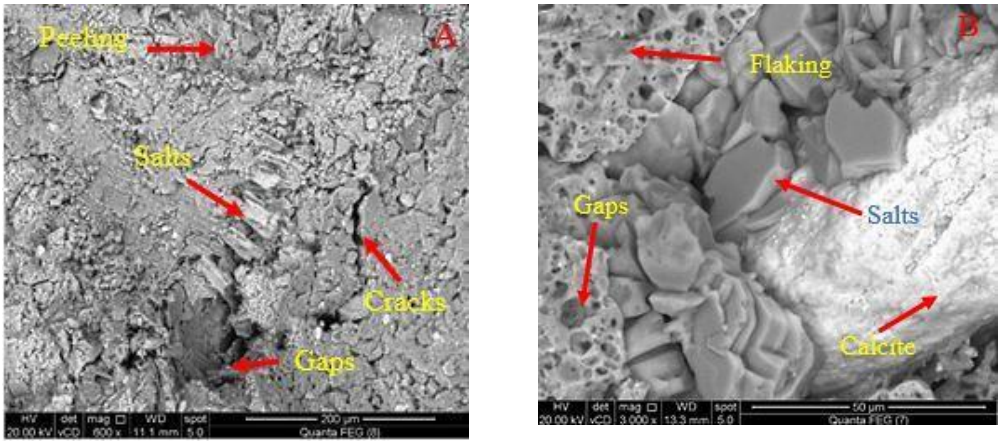
[FIGURE 7]: SEM examination of the first pottery sample. A. SEM examination of the surface with magnification (3000 X); B. SEM examination of the core with magnification (6000 X).

SEM examination of the second sample shows the temper «limestone, burnt straw» cracks, gaps, fissures, and flaking under magnification (3000 X), shown in **[FIGURE 8/a]**. Another part was examined, which showed the presence of quartz grains, crystallization of salts, gaps, peeling, and flaking under magnification (5000 X), **[FIGURE 8/b]**.



[FIGURE 8]: SEM examination of the second pottery sample. A. SEM examination of the surface with magnification (3000 X); B. SEM examination of the core with magnification (5000 X).

Examination of the third sample shows the presence of quartz grains, crystallization of salts, flaking, voids, and cracks under magnification (600X), **[FIGURE 9/a]**. Another part was also examined showing a temper «limestone», gaps, flaking, salt crystallization, and granular separation under magnification (3000 X), **[FIGURE 9/b]**.



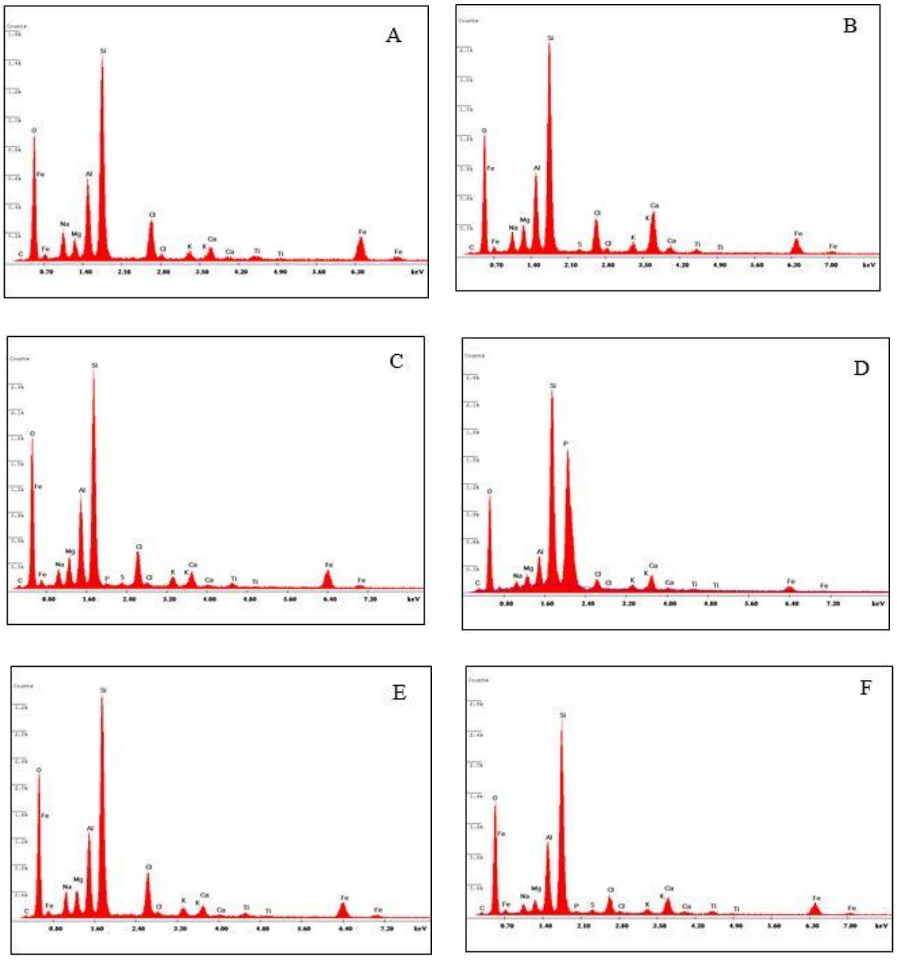
[FIGURE 9]: SEM examination of the second pottery sample. A. SEM examination of the surface with magnification (600 X); B. SEM examination of the core with magnification (3000 X).

B. SEM-EDX Analysis

SEM-EDX analysis revealed the presence of carbon, oxygen, sodium, magnesium, aluminum, silica, phosphor, sulfur, chlorine, potassium, calcium, titanium, and iron, which is indicated in **[TABLE 1 & FIGURES 10/a-f]**.

	S1		S2		S3	
Elemental Wight %	Surface a	core b	surface c	Core d	Surface e	Core f
C	3.83	3.06	4.69	4.66	3.20	4.84
O	20.58	20.16	21.19	22.59	25.54	25.81
Na	4.96	4.52	2.98	4.17	4.16	3.49
Mg	1.11	2.82	1.58	1.04	1.71	1.68
Al	7.39	6.68	3.68	6.87	7.67	6.64
Si	25.64	25.68	24.75	24.85	28.05	27.39
P	-	-	20.80	2.22	-	2.16
S	-	4.42	-	2.39	-	2.61
Cl	7.18	7.92	5.05	8.09	8.70	6.87
K	1.77	2.07	1.49	2.23	2.08	1.30
Ca	5.05	10.26	6.52	6.39	6.62	6.27
Ti	1.16	1.24	1.94	1.52	1.45	1.64
Fe	20.88	11.18	5.34	12.97	10.81	9.36

[TABLE 1]: Results of the analysis of pottery samples using SEM-EDX
© Done by the researcher



[FIGURES 10/a-f]: EDX analysis patterns of pottery samples, Tell Hassan Daoud, Ismailia. A-B. First pottery; C-D. Second pottery; E-F. Third pottery.

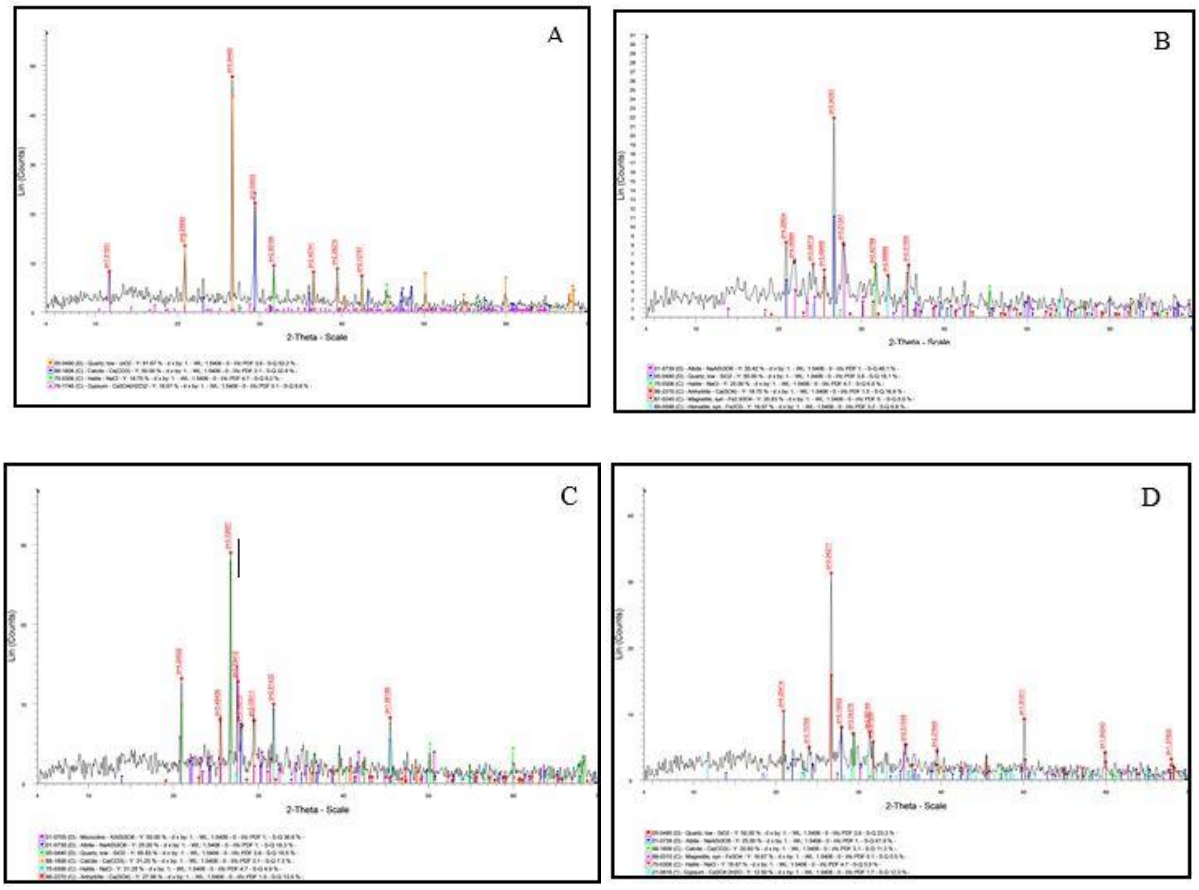
4. X- Ray Diffraction Analysis

Three pottery samples and one soil sample have been analyzed by XRD. The pattern of three pottery samples shows the presence of quartz SiO_2, microcline $KALSi_3O_8$, albite $NaAlSi_3O_{10}$, halite NaCl, hematite Fe_2O_3, Magnetite Fe_3O_4, anhydrite

$CaSO_4$, Gypsum $CaSO_4.2H_2O$ Soil sample pattern contained quartz SiO_2, , albite $NaAlSi_3O_{10}$, halite NaCl , hematite Fe_2O_3, anhydrite $CaSO_4$, as shown in **[TABLE 2 & [FIGURES 11/a-d]**.

Mineralogical Compositions		**Pottery**	**Samples**		
Minerals	Chemical Composition	a	b	c	d (soil)
Quartz	SiO_2	52.2	18.1	19.5	23.3
Microcline	$KALSi_3O_8$	-	-	36.6	-
Albite	$NaAlSi_3O_{10}$	-	46.1	18.3	41.9
Calcite	$CaCO_3$	32.9	-	7.3	11.2
Hematite	Fe_2O_3	-	6.8	-	-
Magnetite	Fe_3O_4	-	5.5	-	5.5
Halite	NaCl	8.2	6.9	4.9	5.9
Anhydrite	$CaSO_4$	-	16.8	13.5	-
Gypsum	$CaSO_4.2H_2O$	6.8	-	-	12.3

[TABLE 2]: XRD analytical results of analyzed pottery samples © Done by the researcher



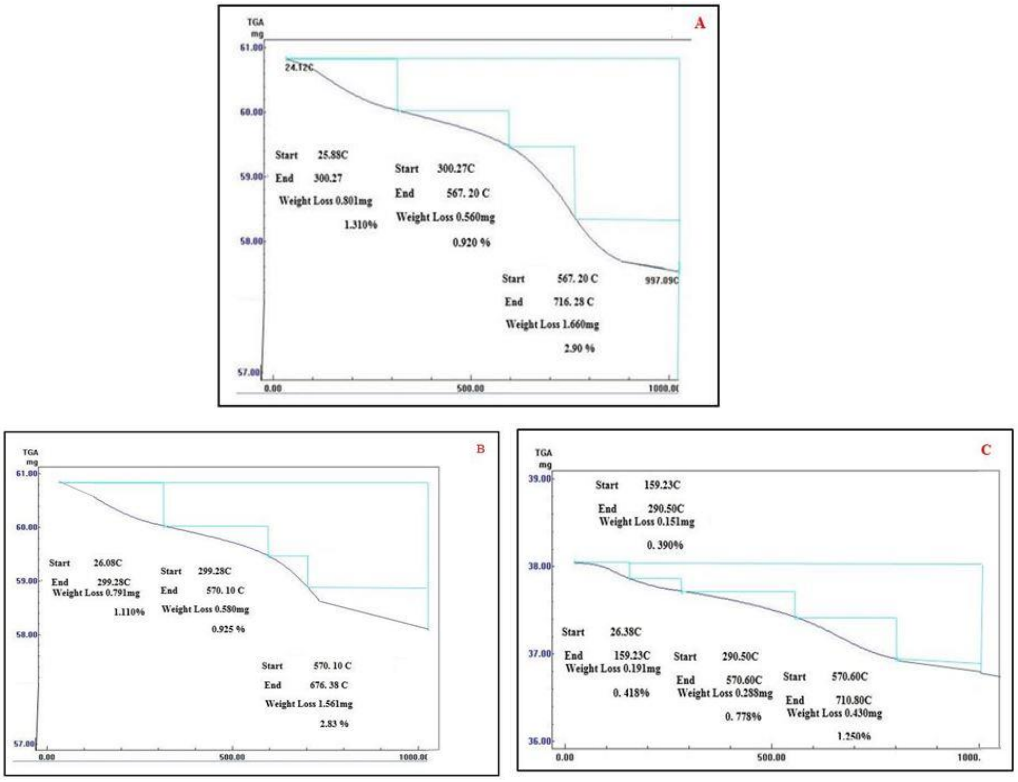
[FIGURE 11]: XRD patterns. A. First pottery sample; B. Second pottery sample; C. Third pottery sample; D. soil sample, tell Hassan Daoud © Done by the researcher

5. Thermogravimetric Analysis

Thermogravimetric Analysis «TGA» have determined the firing temperature of pottery according to weight loss during the firing of the samples at room temperature, as shown in as shown in **[TABLE 3] & [FIGURES 12/a-c]**.

Pottery Sample	**Thermal Characteristics**			
	TGA			
	Start firing	End firing	Weight loss(mg)	**Percentage%**
a	25.88 300.27 567.20	300.27 567.20 716.28	0.801 0.560 1.660	1.310 0.920 2.90
b	26.08 299.28 570.10	299.28 570.10 676.38	0.791 0.580 1.561	1.110 0.925 2.83
c	26.38 159.23 290.50 570.60	159.23 290.50 570.60 710.80	0.191 0.151 0.288 0.430	0.418 0.390 0.778 1.250

[TABLE 3]: TGA analytical results of pottery samples, tell Hassan Daoud, Ismailia © Done by the researcher



[FIGURE 12]: TGA analysis patterns of pottery samples, tell Hassan Daoud, Ismailia. A. First pottery; B. Second pottery; C. Third pottery.

III. DISCUSSION

Visual examination shows that Tell Hassan Daoud site is located in Ismailia Governorate and dates back to the pre-dynastic period as shown in **[FIGURE 1].** The pottery of Tell Hassan Daoud was shaped manually. The Potter Wheel finished the rims of vessels. These are two of the shaping methods used in the pre-dynastic period and at the beginning of the dynasties[20]. Fabric is coarse. Temper is limestone powder «calcite». Firing is medium to low firing. Surface treatment is applied by red wash, which is one of the common methods in the Pharaonic era from Neolithic age to the Ptolemaic period[21]. The examination showed deposits of sandy clay soil, and salt crystallization, which are signs of damage, and common to most of the artifacts excavated from the soil. The burial environment causes fractures, fissures, and breaking due to burial in the soil[22]. Damage manifestations of varied at excavation sites as a result of various damage factors that may cause cracking or fracture of the pottery body[23], as shown in **[FIGURES 2-3].**

PLM Examination showed the presence of various tempers such as sand, burnt straw, limestone powder «calcite», and grog, as shown in **[FIGURES 4 /c-d] .** These tempers were used to improve the properties of clay in pottery manufacturing in the pre-dynastic period[24] . The petrographic examination also revealed muscovite, biotite, plagioclase, and pyroxene as shown in **[FIGURES 4-5], these minerals are characteristic of the Nile clay[25].** It also showed the presence of rutile and orthoclase seen in **[FIGURE 6]**. The clay is classified as Nile clay according to the mineral components in the indicated petrographic examination[26]. PLM Examination showed the texture of the pottery samples, which have a coarse fabric of semi-circular quartz grains; some of them have sharp angled quartz grains, as shown in [**FIGURES 4-6]**. It is known that coarse texture resulted from non-pure selected clay or poor treatment efficiency[27]. One of the most important methods of surface treatment is red wash which is red ocher «hematite»[28] or slip layer. The latter is a mixture of micro clay grains and water[29]. It is noteworthy that during the pre-dynastic period to the fourth dynasty, pottery production did not involve the use of pottery powder or «grog», as indicated by the Vienna classification. Instead, commonly used additives during this period include burnt straw, sand, and calcite[30].

The morphological examination using the scanning electron microscope showed that the mineral components are sodium, magnesium, aluminum, potassium, calcium, and iron, as shown **in [TABLE 1]**. These elements are characteristic of Egyptian clay and

[20] BOURRIAU 1981: 15.
[21] ELGHAREB 2018: 176.
[22] AHMED et Al. 2020: 97.
[23] ELGHAREB 2023: 175-176
[24] ELGHAREB 2017: 74.
[25] ELGHAREB 2021: 170.
[26] SHARMIN 2020: 539.
[27] ZAKIN 1997: 14.
[28] HODGE 1964: 33.
[29] JOHNSON 1988: 12.
[30] NICHOLSON 2000: 67.

some of the heavy elements are characteristic of Nile mud in Egypt[31]. The examination also showed calcium carbonate (calcite) as one of the tempers. The analysis, documented in **[TABLE 1] & [FIGURE 9],** it played an important role in showing the nature of burning, which is a medium to low heat depending on the carbon percentage, which ranges from 3.06% to 3.83% for the first sample, from 4.64% to 4.66%. for the second sample, and 3.20% to 4.84% for the third sample**.** EDX also showed crystalline salts such as sulfates, where the percentage of sulfur oxide ranged from 2.39% to 4.42%, halite from 5.05% to 8.09%, phosphates from 2.16 to 20.80%, and carbonates from 5.05% to 10.26%; these percentages of salts are shown in **[TABLE 1] & [FIGURES 10/a-f]**. Chloride salts are distinctive features found in Egyptian soil[32].

Phosphate and gypsum salts are found in samples due to agricultural soil or the decomposition of organic matter in the cemetery site[33]. Carbonate salts in pottery samples are a result of rainwater or dissolving gases in soil water[34]. Many archaeological materials suffer from poor durability due to the damaging factors of the burial environment, which necessitates a strengthening process[35]. The post-excavation environment causes damage to pottery objects due to different environmental conditions[36].X-ray diffraction analysis of pottery samples indicated the presence of sand (quartz) and calcite as one of the common tempers in ancient Egypt[37], which is shown in **[TABLE 2] & [FIGURES 11/a-c] .**

Thermal analysis «TGA» proved that the firing temperature of the first pottery sample is about 716.28 °C. The loss of physical combined water occurred in the thermal range from 25.88 °C to 300.27 °C, constituting a percentage of 1.310%. Subsequently, the weight loss persisted from 300.27°C to 567.20°C, accounting for a percentage of 0.920%. This loss is attributed to the removal of physical combined water, chemical combined water, organic residues, carbonate materials, and various iron oxides. Following that, there was a substantial weight loss in the thermal range from 567.20 °C to 716.20°C, amounting to 2.90%. This loss is attributed to the decomposition of calcium carbonate «temper» into calcium oxide and carbon dioxide. However, in the thermal range from 716.28°C to 1000 °C, the weight loss remained relatively constant in the first sample, as depicted in **[TABLE 3] & [FIGURE 12/a]**.TGA of the second sample proved that the firing temperature is about 676.38 °C which was interpreted because of lost physical combined water from 26.08 °C: 299.28 °C with a percentage of 1.10%. Then, the weight loss continued from 299.28°C: 570.10°C with a percentage of 0.925% due to loss of physical combined water, chemical combined water, organic residues, carbonate materials, and various iron oxides. Continuing further, there was a significant weight loss in the thermal range from 570.10 °C to 676.38°C, amounting to 2.83%. This loss is attributed to the decomposition of iron chloride and calcium carbonate «temper» into calcium oxide

[31] HAMDAN 2014: 987.
[32] OSMAN et Al. 2016: 97.
[33] ABDEL RAHIM 2015: 84.
[34] ABD-ELKAREEM et Al. 2017: 87.
[35] HEMEDA et Al. 2020: 485.
[36] ZAMORA et Al. 2020: 689.
[37] ELGHAREB 2021: 907.

and carbon dioxide. However, in the thermal range from 676.38°C to 1000 °C, the weight loss remained relatively constant, as illustrated in **[TABLE 3] & [FIGURE 12/b].**

The third sample by TGA showed that the firing temperature is about 710.80 °C. This has been illustrated because of lost physical combined water from 26.38 °C: 159.23 °C with a percentage of 0.418%. Then, the loss in weight decreased from 159.23°C: 290.50°C with a percentage of 0.390% because of lost chemical combined water, organic residues, carbonate materials, and various iron oxides. Then, the loss weight increased to a noticeable degree from 290.50 °C: 570.60°C with a percentage of 0.778% due to decomposition of iron chloride and calcium carbonate «temper» to calcium oxide and carbon dioxide. While weight loss continued from 570.60°C: 710.80°, the weight loss was almost constant from 710.80°C to 1000 °C, **[TABLE 3] & [Figure 12/c].** Thus, thermal analysis is an important method for studying the thermal behavior of pottery[38]. It plays an important role in determining the thermal properties of material[39].

IV. CONCLUSION

Through the results of various examinations and analyses, the research advanced our knowledge regarding tempers in archaeological pottery. Historiccaly, it was not believed that Grog was used in the pre-dynastic period, but the research proved the potter used grog in the pre-dynastic era and the beginning of the dynasties in Tell Hassan Daoud in Ismailia. It also proved the existence of other tempers such as burnt straw, sand and limestone powder, «calcite-dolomite», at this archaeological site. The research proved that the surface treatment is red wash. The burning atmosphere is a mixture of reducing and oxidizing. The pottery texture is coarse. The burning temperature of the first sample is 716°C, the second is about 676°C, and the third is about 710°C. It also demonstrated visual damage such as sandy clay sediments, fractures, fissures, cracks, poor durability, crystalline salts, black core, flaking, separation of grains, and many gaps. Based on the results of these examinations and analyses, the pottery pieces need interventions for their treatment and maintenance before being displayed at a museum.

[38] KLOUZKOVA et Al. 2016: 1311.

[39] STOIA et Al. 2016: 1185.

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